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Michigan's White Pine Era, 1840-1900

Rolland H. Maybee

A SATURDAY NIGHT PARTY

DURING THE MIDDLE 1880's THE LOGGING CAMPS on the upper Manistee River were working the year round putting logs into the river in record volume. The logging crews, or shanty boys as they were generally called in those days, were working long hours and under special strain to meet the high quotas. This was particularly true at the Louis Sands camps, under the driving force of Mr. Sands himself, and his energetic foremen. Louie, as he was universally called by men of the woods, was both feared and respected. This big ox-of-a-man had come from Sweden, worked winter after winter in many camps, saved up his small earnings, made friends, bought up considerable holdings in pine lands, and was now a big-time, successful lumberman with his own mills at Manistee.

The snow still was falling heavily as it had been for two days now, and most of his camps were idled by the storm. Some of the men were using the time off to wash out shirts, socks or underwear in the crowded washroom adjoining the kitchen. Others loafed in bunks, smoked or told stories in low voices. A few men scribbled brief letters in pencil on soiled scraps of note paper to the loving wife, to Janie the girl back home, or to son John. By nightfall the men were beginning to show more restlessness. We might be in for a rough night, I thought. As camp foreman, I decided to talk with George Starr, my assistant.

"George, the cook served up beans again tonight at supper, as you well know. The men are on edge, and plenty mad. And Pete says he won't cook anymore. He's quitting next week."

George just listened. Every year for the past six as foreman of Louis Sands Camp No. 8 on the upper Manistee, I had faced a crisis like this once or twice in a season. Since the coming of the logging railroads in the later seventies, George was serving as our train crew foreman. Mr. Sands trusted George as a foreman and

depended upon his great personality and popularity with the men as a song and dance man. George Starr was worth his weight in gold as an entertainer. Although not a Swede, he was built much on the massive lines of Louie Sands himself. He stood six-foot-four in his shoepacks, weighed at least 220 pounds, and carried his broad shoulders straight and erect. His hair was light, and always cropped short, though never combed. His face was round, reddish, and playful, and when he sang shanty songs or told tales, men doubled up in convulsive laughter one minute, or broke down in tears the next. There was nothing counterfeit about him, either. That's why both lumbermen and shanty boys, rich or poor, respected George and responded favorably to him.

"Yes, Jim, our situation tonight is a bit explosive, isn't it?" George answered, after several minutes of silence. "This ill-humor isn't a sudden display of temper, you know. It's been building up for weeks."

"I suppose you refer to the resentment against Mr. Sands," I admitted quietly.

"Precisely. Isn't he driving the men much too hard these days? With these logging railroads and the improved equipment we use, we are slaughtering the pines with no respect for human endurance or for the future of our forests. This repeated serving of beans is only a minor irritation. Camp expenses have been cut and wages are down. We are asked to cut more and more pine to keep up a profit for the owner. I know Louie, alone, isn't to blame. These are hard times, Jim; and other companies are feeling the pinch too."

"But the men do blame Mr. Sands, George. That's just the point," I broke in emphatically.

"Well, this has been a good camp, Jim. You have done a bang-up job these three years. This'll be the last season for Number Eight, and we don't want to have trouble now."

"Our men are homesick and tired. They're unhappy over this and that. We haven't had much fun around here for weeks. I'll get ahold of some of the boys, and we'll have things humming in an hour or so. Just leave it to me. Don't miss this Saturday night party, Jim."

About an hour later the scene at the mess hall completely changed. George had performed a miracle.

Nels Fredrickson, the best fiddler in camp, was pumping away on his precious fiddle-box making the screechingest noise you ever heard. Ole Johnson pecked away with his little hammers on the strings of the dulcimer. Even Pete Carlson, the cook, was there too, with his beloved mouth organ. When Peter really got rolling—blowing and sucking on that organ—nobody could keep toes and feet from doing a jig or a clog.

About sixty men, more than half the camp personnel, were already in the room. The tables were pushed back against the walls with men sitting on long benches forming a large open square. At the north end was located the "orchestra." Latecomers were seating themselves on the floor, making the hollow square even smaller. The kerosene reflector lamps hanging from the rafters gave a good light—much better than the flickering candles of an earlier day. A monstrous iron stove at the far end of the room was getting redder and hotter. The air was thick as the men puffed faster on strong pipes and an occasional cigar. Some jaws were silently chewing away on tobacco plug.

Few camp parties on Saturday night were planned affairs. Some men were talented and loved to perform. Most men, however, just wanted to be present, to watch the fun, and hope that things might become exciting. Many were there because they had nothing else to do, and some were the restless kind, itching to fight, or unhappy because they were not out at a tavern or hotel bar. They were the possible troublemakers: the cocky fellow, the bully, the loud-talker. Every camp had its coward, its sneak, and the man with a lot of mean habits. Fortunately, most of these shanty boys were good men—generous, kindhearted, dependable, and hard workers.

"The men seem to be feeling pretty good tonight," I remarked to Ole Peterson, over near the door.

"Sure t'ing, dey'll cut loose t'night and have fun. We had no party like dis one for long time. Got to blow off steam sometime, ye know." Nearby Steve Nelson grinned broadly and just nodded his approval.

"You bet, George kind'a stirred t'ings up tonight," he cut in. "George, a great pard! He talk wi' Pete, and Nels Fredrickson and Ole Johnson over in our bunk shanty. Dey were sore 'bout t'ings.

But George, he talk, smile and sing, an' de boys cheer up quick, 'cause George's goin' tell stories tonight. Good news go fast 'round camp. See, boys all here t'see George tell stories and sing. 'Ain't had show here fer long time."

The orchestra was swinging into one lively tune after another. A dozen or more men were dancing with a lot of spirit and vigor as the fidd'ling tempo mounted faster and faster with each tune. The buxom-type men took the part of the lady, identified by a colorful bandana tied around the left arm. Couples were swinging and stepping, shuffling and bowing in perfect time to the music. In fact, the older "bucks" and "gals" stole the show every time. Bill McBride, a wiry little fellow in his seventies, brought the house down with his special antics, speed, and all-round showmanship. When playing the old-time favorites such as "Red River Valley," "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," "Darling Nellie Gray," and "Wild Mustard River," the men shouted and sang themselves hoarse. What's more, the shanty boys always knew the words—at least some version—to every song.

As the tumult suddenly quieted down, to allow for rest and momentary relaxation, before starting another round, a call from the back of the room broke the silence.

"Give us 'Ole Pete Bateese'—about de wolf and de hooch. Better be good, George," cried out Jim Haggerty.

The men roared approval. George got to his feet and walked slowly to the center of "the stage." Then without an introductory word, but with most expressive facial movements, George began to recite:

Ole Pete Bateese got chase one night
By wolf up by de Soo.
Dese wolf dey t'ree, four in de pack
And dey scare him tru and tru.
Pretty soon ole Pete climb up a tree;
He t'ink he stay awhile.
Dese wolf dey sit down in de snow
And lick dere chops and smile.
Pretty quick two wolf go trot away;
Pete t'ink de rest soon go.
Pretty quick dese wolf come right straight back;
Pete's spirits dey sink low.

For w'at you t'ink dese wolf dey got?
Big beaver—one? No—two!
Dey set dem down beside dat tree
And say, "by gar, now chew."
Dose beaver start in chew dat tree;
Dey chew like beat de hand.
Pete t'ink he soon be on de groun'
Unless he take a hand.
So Pete pull out his one-quart hooch
And let it run out slow.
It trickle down de trunk to where
Dose beaver chew below.
Dose beaver dey got drunk, by gar.
Dey don't see none too good.
Dey make mistake and chew de wolf
Instead of chew de wood.
Dose wolf run 'way, and Pete climb down
And sit down in de snow.
And cry and cry to t'ink for where
His one-quart hooch she go.¹

George bowed low and smiled in response to the wild applause. Shouts of "Ze Skunk," "Ze Skunk," filled the air, too. He raised a hand and crossed his lip with a forefinger, and at last when you could hear a pin drop, he began:

I hunt ze bear; I hunt ze wolf;
Sometimes I hunt ze rat.
Las' week I take me my ax
An' hunt ze skunk polecat.
My friend Jacques says he's ver' good fur,
An' sometime good for eat.
I tell my wife I get fur coat
An' same time get some meat.
I walk two, t'ree, four mile.
I feel wan awful smell.
I say dis skunk he's up and die,
An' fur coat gone to hell.
Bimeby I see ze skunk,
Close up by one beeg tree.
I sneak up vera close behin',
An' t'ink he's no see me.

¹ "Ole Pete Bateese," "Ze Skunk," and "Louis Sands and Jim McGee" reprinted by permission from *Lore of the Lumbercamps* by Earl C. Beck, copyright by the University of Michigan, 1948.

Bimeby I'm close up by ze skunk.
I raise my ax up high,
When . . . up, kerplunk, dis dam', dam' skunk
She's t'row somet'ing in my eye.
Sacre blu! I t'ink I blin'.
Gee Whiz! I can no see!
I walk roun' an' roun' an' roun'
An' bump in dam' ol' tree!
Bimeby I drop my ax
An' light out for da shack.
I t'ink a million skunks
Dey clim' upon my back.
My wife she meet me at da door.
She seek on me da dog.
She say, "You no sleep here tonight.
You go sleep mit da hog."
I try to clim' in hog pen.
Gee Whiz! Now what you tink?
Dat dam' o' hog not stan' for dat
On 'count of awful stink.
No more I'm hunt ze skunk polecat
To get his fur or meat.
For if his breath he smell so bad,
Gee Whiz What eff he speet.

George walked slowly back to the orchestra while laughter and calls filled the hall. Before the noise died down the orchestra struck up the popular "Irish Washerwoman." At the same time George signaled to Gus Hanson. Gus pulled a little something out from his big pocket, while walking to join the orchestra group. He pulled up a chair, flipped out a thin paddle board from another pocket, and began adjusting the board into the right position between his left leg and the chair seat. In his right hand you could see some sort of brightly painted wooden carving. Sure enough! It was a beautiful, handmade jumping jack, about nine inches long. Gus firmly held the figure by means of a short peg on the back of it between his right forefinger and thumb.

In a moment he caught up the rhythm of the tune, while the Jack danced up and down, its head and arms flopping around in perfect time. Some of the men left their benches to get a closer view. From all over the room men were standing and craning their necks

to see the show. The musicians played faster and faster, but old Gus kept right along with them. His left leg shaking to the music and the jack almost jumping clear of the paddle board.

Although only a few minutes before scarcely a dozen men even knew Gus by name, he was a star performer now, and the men called him back for three encores.

"Men, how many of you know this song—," and then George paused for attention. "How many of you know the song, 'My Darling Old Stags'? Come on up here if you do, and we'll sing it together. Come on, don't be bashful. That's the way. I want about ten of you 'good singers.'"

And what harmony that was. Or was it? But this was their sweet song:

You may sing of your rose covered bowers;
You may rave of your hills and your vales;
You may talk about sweet scented flowers,
Or tempt with Arabian night tales;
All are feeble and weak to my song;
All are only tatters and rags;
I've a theme that clings to me strong,
'Tis this dear pair of old leather "stags."
When my day of hard labor is done,
And my supper is stowed 'neath my belt;
When the "bunk camp" is brimming with fun,
And the fire in the stove would you melt;
O it's then with my pipe smoking free,
I list to the shanty boys' gags;
I join in the frolic and glee,
With my hoofs in my darling old "stags."
These "stags" they were once long top boots
The tops I cut off long ago
There's nothing now left but the roots,
Still they're handy to wear or to throw,
At some shanty boy snoring in bed,
Or a watch peddling son of a vag;
I can shy them so neat at a head
For convenient at times is a "stag."

Just then something quite unwanted occurred. Without any warning, the fiddler, Nels Fredrickson, started to bow furiously to the tune of "O Tannenbaum." This was the favorite lumberjack song about beans! George and I looked at each other with amaze-

ment. What we feared, was happening before our eyes. The men picked up the tune, and sang out lustily:

Who feeds us beans? Who feeds us tea?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
Who thinks that meat's a luxury?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
We make the big trees fall ker-splash
And hit the ground an awful smash;
And for the logs who gets the cash?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.

Before they finished the first verse, George and I were singing, too, much to the delight of the men.

Just as singing started again, on the second verse, my assistant, Joe Bailey, motioned to me to come outside quickly. I could see by the expression on his face and the urgency of his manner that something was wrong. I hurried through the crowd, and joined Joe as we walked through the door into the kitchen.

George kept the singing going as if nothing had happened, booming out the lead lines in the remaining verses:

Who feeds us beans until we're blue?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
Who thinks that nothing else will do?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
Who feeds us beans three times a day
And gives us very little pay?
Who feeds us beans, again I say?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
Who gives us pay for just one drunk?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
When we hit the Manistee ker-plunk
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
We drink our whisky and our ale
And sweep the town just like a gale;
Then who comes to get us out of jail?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.

I stayed in the kitchen less than four minutes. No major tragedy had occurred. I only found Louie Sands himself, seated next to the big cook stove, warming his feet and hands. His visit was a complete surprise, and I was, to say the least, a bit embarrassed. Mr. Sands

visited his camps at least twice a year; but this was his third visit to Camp Eight. However, he was in excellent humor and was thoroughly enjoying our program.

"Let's go, Jim, and surprise the boys, while they're singing through that bean song for the second time," suggested Mr. Sands, as he pulled on his dried socks and buttoned up his shirt. "I'd like to scare those fellows in there. They think I don't know that song. I'll show 'em. Come on Jim, I'll sing the last verse, and make them like it."

We moved closer to the door and listened. They were just starting the third verse. Mr. Sands grinned, and then whispered: "Wait, then follow me. We'll bust in on the second chorus, with all we've got, and I'll take over on the next lines." We listened carefully, then, at the right moment opened the door with a ghastly shout. The merriment stopped short in shock and amazement. All faces turned quickly in the direction of the big noise, while the two of us—Louis Sands with his huge arm around my neck—sang out in bellowing fashion

Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
We drink our whisky and our ale
And sweep the town just like a gale;
Then who comes to get us out of jail?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.

The men recognized us before we were half finished. Everyone joined in with the concluding refrain, for by then we had made our way to the stage. The big man, the real hero in this show, was having a bully good time. He was just "Louie" to all of us now. He was no longer Mr. Sands. We had never seen the boss in this mood before. He stood there like a giant, with shoulders as broad as a barn door. His legs were stocky, and he was tall. But his face and eyes bore the marks of a man, not a pugilist. He really was most distinguished looking with his reddish-brown beard, walrus mustache, and full, bushy sideburns. Even his hair, though curly and uncut in the back, was combed neatly, and lay in thick, heavy waves across the right side of his head.

Without saying a word, and with very little pause, he raised his arms, nodded to the orchestra, then led off with his husky, powerful voice into the fourth and last verse:

Who feeds us beans each blessed day?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
Who'll feed us beans on Judgment Day?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.
And when that judgment's passed, and we
Know just were we're going to be,
Who'll feed us beans through eternity?
Louie Sands and Jim McGee.

In the deafening din that followed, Louie Sands took three strides toward George Starr, master of ceremonies, picked him up in his arms, and almost smothered him in a bear-like hug. Pete Carlson, the cook, about to quit, dropped his mouth organ, and muttered to himself: "I'll be darned. Louie a good guy. I no quit."

The crisis passed. Louie Sands was a real guy after all. The next morning all hands piled out as usual before dawn. It took most of the day to plow out the snow-filled trails and the tote road. Not much cutting was done this first day after the big storm. The morning air was cold, very cold, quiet and no wind. The men were in a good mood; and the forest scene was a veritable fairyland, as the sun broke through the deep shade in gleams of bursting light. Every woodsman was an artist at heart that beautiful morning. Sentimentally it seemed a crime to cut down God's timber, his creation of the centuries.

EXPLORING PINE FORESTS

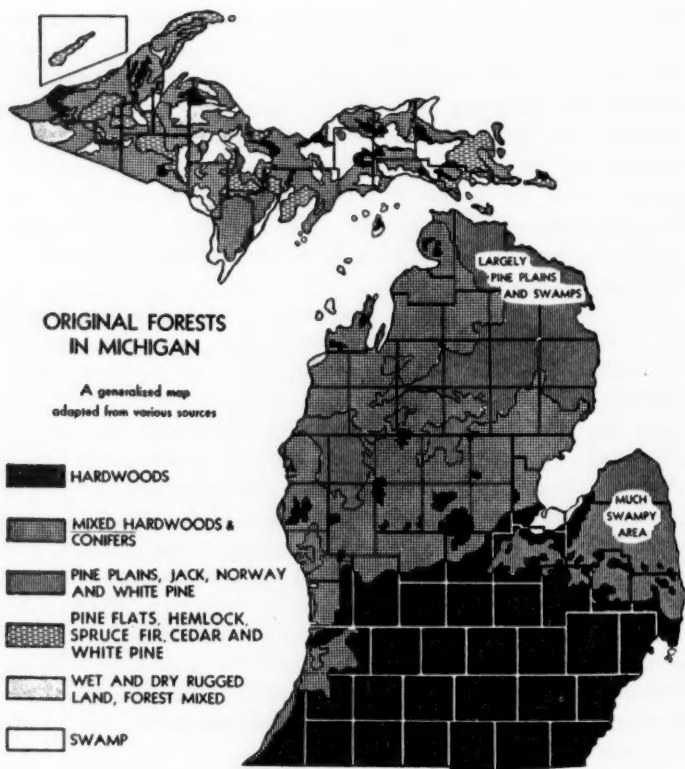
MICHIGAN BECAME THE TWENTY-SIXTH STATE in the Union, at long last, in 1837. The population numbered about eighty-seven thousand; though barely a few thousand people lived on the fringe of the wilderness forests north of Grand Rapids and Port Huron. Lansing was only a township—not even a village—in a dense forest. Chicago had not yet reached five thousand population; although Detroit was a thriving town of eight thousand. Detroit was a booming port, and the commercial hub of the new Michigan, with several roads: Gratiot, Woodward, Grand River, and Michigan running out toward the interior settlements like several spokes in a wheel. For the past two decades, five government land offices at Detroit,

Monroe, White Pigeon, Ionia, and Saginaw had made tremendous land sales. But the bubble burst in the Panic of 1837. For ten years the tempo of immigration slowed down a bit; though people kept coming into Michigan in search of cheap land for farms. Even railroads got started despite money tightness, politics, and controversy over the new-fangled method of transportation. Meanwhile, farther north, the federal land surveyors pushed relentlessly on: the true vanguards of the frontier. Silently almost, these wilderness surveyors discovered Michigan's fabulous pine forests, as well as her iron and copper.

Early government estimates based upon surveyors' findings, placed the standing pine timber in Michigan at the astonishing figure of 150 billion board feet.² Some sixty years later the eminent lumber historian of the Great Lakes states, George Hotchkiss, stated that more than 160 billion board feet of pine had already been cut by 1897 with only about six billion left standing, mostly in the Upper Peninsula. Someone has estimated that this tremendous volume of timber was sufficient to completely build ten million six-room houses; or to floor the entire land area of Michigan with one-inch pine boards, with enough left over to do the same for the state of Rhode Island; or sufficient to build fifty, one-inch plank roads, 50 feet wide, from New York to San Francisco. In dollar value, Michigan's "green gold" outvalued California's "yellow gold" by more than a billion dollars, even at the incredibly low valuation of thirteen dollars per thousand (M) board feet, at average wholesale prices over a sixty year period, 1847-1897.

The best of the Michigan pine, both quality and quantity, came from the central portion of the lower peninsula. This constituted a sort of super pine belt extending between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron from the mouth of the Grand River across to the south line of Sanilac County, then northward to a line between Manistee, Houghton Lake and Oscoda. However, many superior stands of pine were located farther north at the headwaters of the Manistee and the Au Sable, and along the uplands of the larger Upper Peninsula rivers.

²A board foot is the unit of measure in the lumber trade—being a board one inch thick and one foot square. A board sixteen feet long, twelve inches wide and one inch thick would measure sixteen board feet.



Michigan was a part, and perhaps the most important single part, of a great northern forest belt extending from Maine to western Minnesota through northern New York and Pennsylvania; while across the border, these forests extended through New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, and swept northward to Hudson's Bay.

Such a primeval forest was overwhelming in its vastness and depth, at once forbidding and mysterious. Within its spacious depths, it was a place of grandeur, solemnity, and closed-in solitude; a whole new world of nature quite untouched by man. To some, it was a place of peace, remoteness, and inspiration; to many, a tangled wilderness full of danger and the unknown. To some businessman,

the forest could be a source of new wealth—perhaps great reward.

Predominantly this was a pine forest of maturing, virgin timber one hundred to perhaps three hundred years old. Actually it was a mixed forest: that is, hardwoods of oak, maple, beech, cherry, and elm; and besides the white and Norway pine, such other conifers as hemlock, cedar, and balsam. But timber speculators and lumbermen were interested only in white pine. Only later, the smaller, more densely grown Norway pine attracted attention, along with smaller sized white pine.

On the uplands and ridges were often found large, compact tracts and smaller clumps of huge monarch-like white pine. These were cloud-sweeping giants fully 125 to 170 feet tall, with large bodied trunks two to five feet in diameter at the butt, of dark gray, deeply furrowed bark. These straight, mammoth pines with only slight taper, towered three-quarters of their total height, clean and clear without knots, to the spreading canopy of branches and foliage of dark green, short feathery-clustered needles. Beneath these cathedral-like pillars of the sky lay a thick, soft carpet of fallen needles and a scattering of pine cones; but no underbrush and no young trees. The reader who has stood at the foot of the Monarch Pine³ in the Hartwick Pines—that living memorial of Michigan's great white pine—may well have seen and felt what the author is attempting to describe. Generally, those titans of the forest were known as cork pines, mature trees with clear, creamy-white wood, and light in weight, which made their logs float high on the rivers. As lumber, especially for finishing work, this quality of pine was unsurpassed. It was most valuable and widely sought by timbermen.

Less than twenty per cent of Michigan pine could be classified as cork, in matter of size, quality and age. Most of Michigan's pine was of moderate size, from fifteen to thirty inches, as one measures tree diameter. Naturally these trees grew more thickly per acre, and often covered great expanses—whole sections, townships and perhaps the large part of one or more counties in extent. Such trees were probably from seventy to 160 years old—good timber, but not real old trees. Relatively young trees were plentiful too, those under seventy years and under fourteen inches. Trees less than forty

³Height, 155 feet; diameter, 51 inches; and 74 feet to first limb.

years old and under eight inches were not considered to be of sufficient size for timber.

The federal government, during the thirty years, 1841-1871, had opened up a gigantic era of what might be termed, land-happy-generosity on a national scale. The standard government price for land was cut to \$1.25 per acre; huge land grants had been made to encourage railroad companies to span the continent from Chicago to the Coast, and opened the door to lesser grants for railroads in Michigan to penetrate the timber forests and open up the land in undeveloped areas. The first lock on the St. Mary's rapids opened in 1855. The federal government had made a liberal land grant of 750,000 acres to the state, and in turn it was transferred to the private company which built the canal and locks.

During the decade of the 1850's, timber speculators began a scramble for choice pine lands when more than ten million acres of unsold government lands were disposed of or "tied up" in various land grants of one sort or another. Some grants were made to the state of Michigan under the label of "swamp" lands but they were actually good pine lands, and sold at \$1.25 per acre to private individuals and companies.

Private timber investors and speculators from the East and from Detroit and Chicago were beginning to locate and select Michigan pine lands more rapidly each year. The survey notes of the government land surveyors gave information on topography, vegetation, and forest conditions; and often times they gave hints regarding the kind and quality of both timber and soil.

But the actual job of selecting choice timber lands could not be left to chance and to general tips here and there. This was a job for men experienced in timber exploration, by men familiar with trees who knew how to live in the forest, and how to get around. They needed to be confidence men as well, not likely to reveal important information to competitors. Clients usually paid well for good pine lookers or timber cruisers. These timber cruisers were important men. They tramped through the forest for weeks at a time, usually in pairs. They climbed tall trees, looked around for miles, spotted and then located choice pine stands and marked same on government land maps. Later they made on-the-spot examination of located stands. They reported to their clients and eventually made purchases

of desired lands at the proper government land office. Frequently they laid the basis for many a future lumberman's status as a millionaire, if the selecting job had been done well. A few timber cruisers became lumbermen and millionaires themselves.

An excellent, perhaps dramatic example of competition for pine land is found in the maneuvers of David Ward and Addison Brewer.

The discovery and purchase of a large tract of superior cork pine resulted in the largest and most profitable purchase Ward ever made. The prize timber was located in the Otsego-Bradford Lakes region, lying between the headwaters of the Manistee and Au Sable Rivers, north and west between the present towns of Frederic and East Jordan. Addison Brewer, a rugged, competent, persistent and seasoned landlooker, was managing the land expeditions for the "Soo" canal company agents. David Ward, then merely a surveyor and landlooker, was working for Dwight, Smith and Company, and William A. Howard, both of Detroit; and, of course, Ward was working for himself too, on a liberal land commission. He had been tipped off by old John Mellon, a federal surveyor, of the whereabouts of a large stand of cork pine along a ridge a mile and a half west of Otsego Lake. After much consideration, whetted by the knowledge that his old rival, Addison Brewer, was planning an exploring expedition into this same location, Ward decided to beat him to it, if possible.

Thus David Ward and his old companion, John Bailey, started out from Saginaw early in April, 1854. They hiked with heavy packs for weeks in unseasonable subzero weather, traveling on foot up the Tittabawassee and the Tobacco rivers, then over land and across Houghton Lake and on to the south shore of Otsego Lake. On the hills to the west stood the magnificent cork pine they had come 165 miles to look over. The first three weeks of April were spent in carefully surveying and selecting the choicest eighty acre tracts. Apparently Brewer and his party had not yet arrived. Finally apprehensive, Ward broke camp suddenly for the trip to the Ionia Land Office to enter his claims. Because he had to secure land warrants and some cash from his clients in Detroit he could not travel directly to Ionia. He retraced the route to Saginaw under ideal weather, "borrowed" a canoe at the Tobacco River, slept overnight in Saginaw, then went on to Detroit by stage and railroad; obtained

money and warrants from Mr. Howard, then drove a hired buggy over the new plank toll road to Lansing (18 hours), then finished the journey to Ionia by regular stage. The next day he methodically entered his claims and paid for the same. Before nightfall Addison Brewer's agent walked into the land office, looked over the books only to acknowledge that he had been beaten by a day. Months later, Ward was obliged to make a special trip to Washington, D.C., inasmuch as the general land office announced its intention of cancellation of Ward's Otsego Lake purchases on a technicality: the Ionia Land Office no longer had jurisdiction, since a new office had been only recently established at Duncan, now Cheboygan. Ward didn't lose his prize purchase, however; he was permitted to transfer the entries, and though this took another month, it was worth the doing.

This was a spectacular and unusual experience for a timber cruiser. But things like this did occur. Competition was keen. During the next few years Ward continued his land-looking expeditions into the upland areas of the Pine, Chippewa, and Tobacco rivers, the Muskegon and the Manistee, and on the watershed of the Menominee. On the latter location he was given a cold shoulder by other pine lookers and timber agents who, in effect, warned him to get out. In the winter of 1853-54 scores of the canal company agents roamed the pine lands area selecting more than a half million acres scattered in twenty-six counties in the upper half of the lower peninsula and in the three counties along the north shore of Lake Michigan. Their selections ranged from a mere thousand acres in Lapeer County to thirty thousand in Isabella, thirty-four in Montcalm, forty-three in Lake, forty-four in Mecosta and forty-six thousand acres in Schoolcraft. Selections were invariably made in units of forty or eighty acre lots, and were purposely selected because of the superior size and quality of the timber. Naturally thousands of high quality pine lands were missed by the early timber cruisers and later sought out by others; while thousands of acres of second and third choice timber were located and picked up in later years by lumbermen who were glad to buy just any pine.

Investors in pine lands were generally shrewd and cautious buyers. Besides hiring pine lookers to locate and select their timber, they often insisted upon estimates of the probable yield in thou-

sands of board feet, as well as information on river facilities for driving logs, and hauling distances to the nearest stream. Those who made these estimates oftentimes wrote interesting reports. One such typical report was written by Sidney S. Hastings, a surveyor in Gratiot County, to Cyrus Woodman, then land agent for the Michigan Pine Land Association. Hastings was hired to look over and estimate the standing timber in what was called "Group 224" consisting of 560 acres previously selected by agents of the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal Company. The report was written on November 6, 1865. He counted the trees, estimated their height, quality, and probable board feet. He drew a rough map in order to better portray his findings to Mr. Woodman.

His letter accompanying the statistical tabulations reported that "north of the line I have marked as the 'Line of the Pine' the pine stands quite thick and even varying from 25 to 50 trees to the acre, from 16 inches to 3 feet in diameter and would generally work [i.e. cut for logs] from 80 to 100 feet." Much of this "would be termed cork pine." In other parts of the tract "trees show signs of black knot and red rot." In some places there was a "good deal of double or thribble pine or 'Buckwheat Pine,' the trees taper rapidly, knots show from the ground [and] not more than one-fifth . . . would pay to cut for logs." He informed Mr. Woodman that the ground was "generally pretty level," but with some gullies. In examining this group of pine Mr. Hastings said that he "took his surveying tools with him . . . and ran it out to 40 acre lots, and examined each lot carefully.

Hastings figured that this tract would yield a total of 7,150,000 board feet. This averaged about twelve thousand board feet per acre, double the state-wide average for Michigan pine. He estimated that some twenty thousand trees were suitable for timber, and found only 3,500, or about 15 per cent, which were "not worth the cutting."

In much this same manner professional timber cruisers and local county surveyors helped to locate and assess the value and volume of the standing timber in Michigan. On the basis of their findings millions of acres of pinelands were acquired by thousands of private timber investors, lumbermen, and scores of lumber companies. Government land was cheap—no more than a dollar and a quarter per acre. By means of military bounty warrants—assignable to any

purchaser—valuable pinelands could be had at even cheaper bargain prices. These early investors thus gained a strong foothold in Michigan pine, and laid a solid economic foundation for their own future wealth and fortune.

LOGGING CAMPS

EVERY DAY DURING THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER in the 1870's and 1880's a train might pull out of Saginaw City, Bay City, Muskegon, or Grand Rapids loaded with supplies and materials for the lumber camps in the north woods. Each train carried a coach or two of shanty boys of every description.

A former newspaper correspondent and one-time editor of the *Saginaw Courier* started north from Saginaw on one of the Michigan Central trains in the fall of 1880. Although he was thoroughly familiar with logging and the lumber industry, this was his first actual trip into the camps. John Fitzmaurice, who years later wrote *The Shanty Boy* (1889), tells of the beginning of this trip in the following manner:

I was dressed . . . in good warm woolen pants, known as "Canadian Grey," blue woolen shirt, German socks, walking rubbers strapped at the ankle, French headcovering, a verigated night cap, and a heavy overcoat. Added to this was the inevitable red sash, emblem of the woods and badge of the Shanty Boy.

Describing the confused situation in the railroad car he continues: It was full in every form of the word. The seats intended for two held three or four. The aisles were jammed with surging, roaring, swearing, laughing, humanity out of nearly every kindred nation, people, and tongue. All were full—every man had a bottle. . . . The men were bound for the woods—a long season of hard labor was before them. This was simply a goodbye to civilization. . . . The combination of people was made up of Americans, English, Canadians, Germans, Swedes, French, Poles and Indians. . . and all were hilariously noisy. Every man was using his mother tongue which matches [*sic*] a song, joke or wild argument. . . . As fast as one bottle was emptied, through the window it went and another took its place. I since learned that the gathering of bottles along the railroad tracks is no small means of livelihood of the lumber-town's small boys. The reek of tobacco smoke filled the car, the

roar of song and vile word . . . formed an invisible atmosphere in keeping with the surroundings amid which John Sugars, the conductor, calmly made his way in the collection of fares, a work of no little magnitude in such a pandemonium.

The trip northward turned out to be a long and tedious one for most of the men. At each station a few shanty boys got off for the long hike into this or that camp in the distant woods, while each station wait was prolonged by the casual unloading of quantities of camp supplies. With their few personal belongings bundled into what resembled a dirty-clothes bag, called a "turkey," and swung over a shoulder, the boys sauntered into a nearby bar before departing along the dusty tote road, or perhaps for an overnight stay at some rooming house before departing at the break of dawn. Camp tote teams would arrive early in the morning to pick up supplies and provisions; but the men were obliged to walk, sometimes ten to twenty miles into camp.

Under such circumstances the logging season for the year 1880 got under way. To the shanty boys and to the railroad conductor this was pretty much standard routine, but old-timers could recall when, not too many years ago, you didn't ride the railroad train. Instead, you walked all the distance into camp.

By 1880 men had been cutting logs and sawing lumber for some forty years, even before the railroads penetrated deep into the pineries. The logging of Michigan pine was rapidly nearing peak production and by 1890 most of Michigan's huge crop would be gone. It had taken one hundred to three hundred years to grow those pines; but only fifty years to cut them down.

A logging camp in the Michigan woods was no place for weaklings or for the ladies. At best it was a temporary camp for the sheltering and feeding of men and teams during the late fall and winter months in almost complete isolation. The men were hired to work from dawn to sundown, six days a week, in almost all kinds of weather and conditions. Pay rates varied with the job, with the man's experience, and the tools or equipment he might bring with him. Wages generally averaged twenty to twenty-five dollars a month, and were in reasonable line with other wage scales of the time; but the men never got paid until the breakup of camp in the spring,

and then, the wage certificate for amount due had to be presented at the company's main office in person.

The sole purpose of every camp was to cut and bank saw logs. The camp was always located on private property; the property of a man or company having invested in a large or small tract of timber, which in order to be profitable must eventually be cut, and the logs transported to the mills to be sawed into lumber. The timber owner, with estimates provided by his agent, a timber cruiser, or estimator, knew with some certainty the saw log productiveness in board feet of his eighty acres, or his 560 acres; or if a large owner, his ten thousand or more acres of timber land. The extent and rate of cutting operations depended largely upon market conditions, the weather, the foreman, his men, luck, and hard work. He might hire and manage his own logging crews, or he might contract with a responsible jobber to cut and put in a quota of board feet at the lowest possible cost. Whatever the method or means, the end product must be a profitable quantity of logs.

During the first few decades of commercial logging in Michigan, camps and the volume of operations were small. A camp consisted of a few rough log buildings to accommodate twenty-five to thirty men and a few teams, together with feed and a quantity of supplies. Such camps did well if they cut one and a half to three million board feet in a season. Since the middle 1870's many camps became much larger, frequently accommodating sixty to a hundred men, many buildings, and twelve to eighteen teams, with a season's cut measuring some ten to twenty million. Then, with the advent of the little logging railroads in the late seventies production records jumped two-and threefold, and camps became multiple instead of single, all under one management. Hence, during a period of some forty years, logging operations in Michigan emerged from a very primitive stage into a highly specialized and well developed business enterprise.

Some of the very early camps did not heat the bunk shanty with the long stove or the potbellied stove. Without even a split-log floor, the fireplace was located in the center of the cabin, dug out slightly in the ground, on which four to five foot logs were burned, directly beneath a large chimney made of small logs and plastered inside with clay. Overheating and an excess of smoke frequently

resulted, especially with adverse wind and weather conditions. In some camps, headless flour barrels were installed horizontally in the roof to furnish better ventilation.

A camp built to accommodate as many as one hundred men consisted of five or six principal buildings, all constructed of logs, fitted and joined and chinked between the logs. The buildings consisted of a bunkhouse, 60x30 feet with sleeping bunks for the entire crew; adjoining it, a cookshanty and kitchen, 65x30 feet; a barn and stable for eighteen teams, together with hay and oats; a crudely constructed but adequate blacksmith shop and a small tinker shop where pots and pans were mended and axes and saws were constantly sharpened. Every camp provided separate quarters for the camp foreman and the log scaler, which in effect was a combination bunkhouse, camp office, and camp store where miscellaneous items such as tobacco, socks, boots, some clothing, and various tools were sold to the men. In the bunkhouse the double-deck bunks were built of logs along either outside wall with a rough log with the bark on for the back of each bunk. The lower bunk rested about a foot above the floor with the upper bunk about three feet higher. The slats of the bunk were made of small poles or pieces split from a straight-grained log laid cross-wise. Then cedar or hemlock boughs were laid over the strips with a topping of "marsh feather" or hay, and a grain sack, stuffed with the same kind of "feathers," was used for a pillow. There were no ticks, mattresses, or springs in the lumber camp. But no shanty boy ever awoke to the morning call with a bad back, and few ever complained of rheumatism or a bad cold after sleeping on hemlock boughs and soft marsh feathers.

Heat and ventilation became more serious problems in these larger, more crowded bunk shanties, with one or more red hot stoves, and only a few small windows. Before the flickering kerosene lamps were turned out at nine o'clock, the room was likely to be filled with pipe smoke and the strong aroma of stale tobacco. But within a few minutes some sixty to a hundred snoring men would be gasping for air and scratching a bite (graybacks), with wet boots, socks, and pants hung from rafters, drying and smelling the whole night through.

Food was very important in every camp and the cook could either make or break an otherwise successful camp. A good cook would

always fill serving dishes heaped with all the food he could pile on, and piping hot too. A big pot of tea or coffee was in reach of every man to help himself. Very few camps in the early days served butter, then only with hot biscuits. Oleomargarine came into use only in the later years, but was of very poor quality, sometimes little better we are told than wagon grease. Blackstrap syrup, used largely for morning pancakes, was bought in large barrels or kegs. Generally meat gravy from beef or pork was preferred by many instead of syrup on pancakes. Pork and beans, especially beans, were served in some camps much too frequently to please the shanty boy.

The amount of food needed to supply a logging camp of one hundred men for a week has been estimated as follows: six barrels of flour, two and one-quarter barrels of beef, two and one-half barrels of pork, eight bushels of potatoes, three bushels of onions, one-quarter barrel of pickles, one barrel of sugar, five pounds of tea, sixteen pounds of coffee, fifty pounds of butter, and forty pounds of lard. In addition we must add an undetermined quantity of prunes, dried fruit, salt and pepper, mustard, spices, sausage meat, and some fresh meat. In fact, some camps were known to have hired a man full time to hunt and fish to supply the camp from time to time.

The kitchen stove was of the cast-iron type with six or eight griddles and a very large oven. It took lots of wood and hard work on the part of the chore boy to keep the stoves hot and the fireboxes loaded. Large wooden paddles, three feet long with an eight inch blade, and long two-tine forks made of hardwood by the camp tinkerer, were put to many uses. The chore boy used the same huge wooden fork to turn meats in the kettles as he did to lift the shanty towels from the boiler into the rinse water, dish towels as well as hand towels. It took a lot of towels to dry the dishes and the hands of a hundred men.

The working day began early for everyone. The cook and teamsters were up by three-thirty. After a hearty breakfast at five, all hands took leave of camp for their respective posts to begin the daily grind from dawn to dusk.

Groups of men working together in small crews known as choppers and sawyers specialized in the cutting or felling of the timber and the cutting of the long tree trunks into logs, usually sixteen

foot lengths. In the early days, prior to the 1870's, the felling of the tall timber was accomplished with a single bitted ax exclusively, though the crosscut saw was used to cut log lengths. When the saw manufacturers turned out saws with improvements of design and strength for actually sawing the standing timber, production figures advanced sharply. The cutting edge of these seven foot saws was given a slightly curved or bow-like condition from end to end, while the back of the saw was both straight and thicker than at the cutting edge. These refinements greatly facilitated the speed and ease of cutting. As soon as a tree fell, crews of choppers moved in to trim and top the fallen tree, while the sawyers began at the butt end to cut the trunk into logs. Men known as swampers and skidders next took charge of the sawed logs, snaking them out by means of a team and chain, dragging them along to the nearest logging trail. At intervals along the trail were set up decking platforms where logs were cross-piled and became way stations for the loading of the bobsleighs. With heavy cant hooks and acquired skill the loaders and deckers helped the teamster load the sleigh for the haul to the banking grounds along side some nearby river or creek. At this point the scaler and stamper supervised their men in recording the board feet per log and in stamping each log with the heavy stamping irons to designate ownership.

The scaler would record all sixteen inch diameter logs in sixteen foot lengths as 144 board feet. As the records turned out this was just about an average log size among Michigan pine. However, a twenty-eight inch log would scale 576 feet, a thirty-six inch log, 1024 feet, while a very large "cork" log measuring forty-four inches in diameter would scale at the impressive figure of 1600 board feet. In those early days of selective log cutting the big timber was taken first. In later decades when loggers were told to cut everything in sight, that included trees as small as eight inches producing only sixteen board feet per log, which was indeed very, very small timber.

The men working in the woods were universally referred to as woodsmen, with the term "shanty boys" much preferred in their own folk songs. Most shanty boys were proud of their own particular occupational skill; for they were hired as a sawyer, teamster, skidder, loader, chopper, tinker, blacksmith, filer, or cook. The

modern term "lumberjack" is of recent literary origin and was seldom used in Michigan by the workers themselves.

As a group, the shanty boys have been glamorized and romanticized into a colorful segment of pioneer American culture. They were a mixture of languages, nationalities, religions, personalities, and temperaments. Winter isolation and exclusive male companionship for the better part of seven months created tensions and irritations, while many camps prohibited liquor and the playing of cards. But every camp had at least one bully, ready to fight at the drop of the hat. Men were single or married, farmers, or city ruffians, while some were criminals just out of jail. However, they constituted a common, cross section of the American melting pot.

RIVERMEN AND THE DRIVES

STREAMS AND RIVERS CONSTITUTED THE MAIN ARTERIES of log transportation to the mills. The frozen channel of a creek or river provided an excellent deep freeze for the season's crop of logs. Thousands of logs and millions of board feet were frozen into a mixture of snow and ice. At intervals of several miles along the course of any logging stream could be seen these storage deposits, waiting for the spring thaws and early floods. Each spring anxiety and deep apprehension plagued the minds of the log owners, camp foremen, and mill men generally. Would the weather play tricks, or would this be a good year for the drives? There would be no money to pay bills until the logs were successfully brought down to the mills.

The river drives on a dozen great logging rivers, such as the Muskegon, Manistee, Au Sable, Tittabawassee, Menominee, Escanaba, or Manistique, held the power of economic life or death for most lumbermen. Generally, however, they served their economic purpose in this era adequately and effectively. On the smaller feeder streams, timber owners cleared out brush and fallen logs and erected freshet dams at desired intervals. From April to September the main rivers carried along their cargoes of saw logs. Efficient, agile and skilled river crews covered their beats from point to point

on the river, keeping the logs moving, breaking and preventing jams, retrieving stray logs; in all, getting wet, sleeping and eating in the open, courting whatever danger the day might bring, but enjoying the thrills and excitement of river driving, season after season.

Bert Harcourt, some sixty years ago, was a lumberjack and river-

MICHIGAN LOWER PENINSULA MAIN LOGGING RIVERS



man in the Houghton Lake area. Many years later, at the request of Mr. Carl A. Leech of Detroit, this old-timer wrote an extensive account of logging experiences. He wrote almost a hundred pages, in pencil on both sides of inexpensive brown paper, and without much attention to such "silly things" as punctuation, paragraphing, and spelling. But he wrote some fascinating descriptions, random reminiscences, and just plain talk from the heart and from memory. The historian is always deeply in debt to such writers as Harcourt. Selected excerpts from this Harcourt essay are presented here because they show a courageous man's effort to explain to others what he knew to be the way that river driving was done. Space limitation restricts the telling of the whole story; but a few extended passages from Bert Harcourt's running account should prove both informative and interesting.

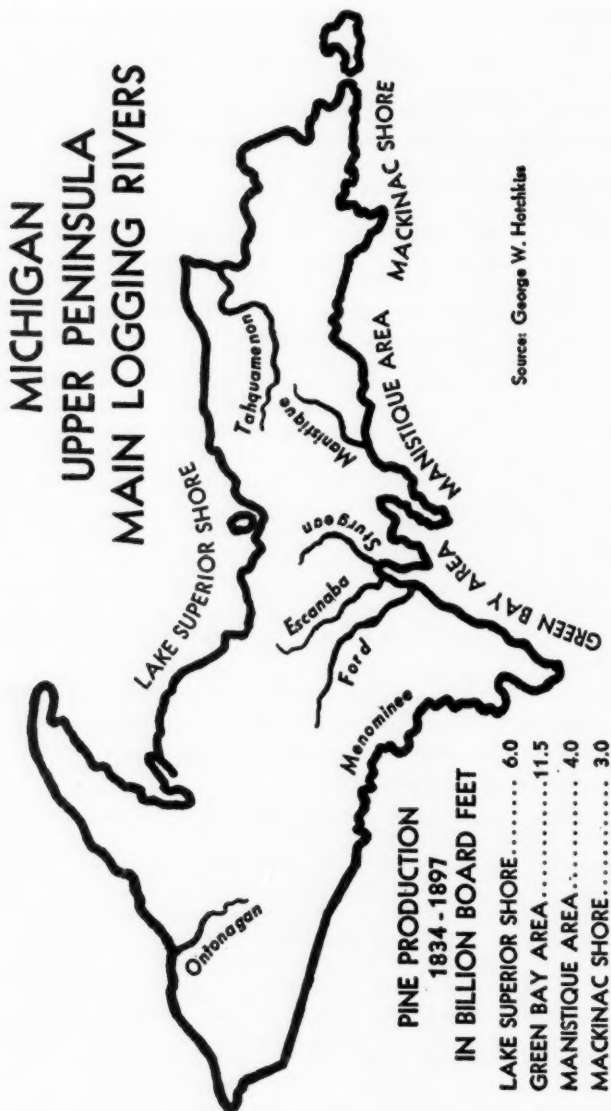
"Now the discription I give you of the river drives is just about as good as any body could give you . . .," wrote the author without intending to be a bit boastful. He felt that he had done a good job, as he explained to Mr. Leech. But let's get into the essay itself:

Well the main thing about driving logs was the water that* why they would all ways be in a rush in the spring, When the jam crew would start breaking jam in the morning the idia was to see how far they could move the jam that day it was long hours all the day light there was if the company had camps along the river where the men could Camp they would have long hikes to make down river to where they had to work that day, if they had a wanigan it wouldnt be so bad. A Wanagan was a sort of a House boat that that would float down river just behind the jam and ahead of the rear crew there would be 2 Wanagans one for the cook to work in and the other for a sleeping shack and if there wasnt room for all the men in the sleeping Wanagan they would have a tent along so they could all be sheltered, lots of places there wouldnt be a table to sit down to to eat the Cook would set what was called a mess table the cook would put all the Eats on the table and the men would get a plate and fill it and find a place to sit down on the river bank to eat, After breakfast each man would fill his lunch sack with what ever he would need during the day to eat, there would be biscuits Cookies Doughnuts Ham Eggs as much as you wanted to take this sack you carried was generaly made out of oil cloth it would be about 16 inchs squar with a flap that you could lop over and button and all so had 2 loop straps sowed on each side so you could throw then over your shoulder and tie them so that you could all ways have your lunch with you and it wouldnt be in your way when you were working a man generaly done a lot of hikeing up and down the river so that He never

knew where he be when it was time to eat the men had to work all the hours that they could see to work if the days were 12 hours long in April you put them in and if you were still driveing in June when the days were 16 hours long you put in the 16 hours it wasent such had work all the time there would be plenty of hours that you wouldnt have to work and some times it would be plenty tough some times there would be logs hung up on a sand bar so big that there wouldnt be water enough to float them still the water would be up to you hipps you would have to get in to the water and roll them logs till you got them into water where they would float and some times there would be ice floating around you when you would be roleing them logs, thats what they called sacking any time that you would have to get in to the water to role a log in order to get it where it would float why they called that part of the work sacking Another thing about River driveing that was tough was the wheather a man never layed off on account of the weather if it happen to be a dirty spring with rain and snow every other day you had to stay out in it If a man went to camp on account of the weather he^d figure he was done for he had showed the white feather you very seldom would see a man change his wet cloths for dry ones when he^d come in if he was wet he let the clothes dry on him and sleep in them the old saying was if you changed in to dry cloths you^d catch cold, Now the reason the men had to put in such long hours and had to work in all kinds of weather was on account of the water if a drive had only got part way to its distanation why it would have to hang there till the next spring which would be a big loss to a big company and fatal to a jobber there was more than one jobber went broak just over such happenings,

Turning to another aspect of the drive, the forming and breaking out of log jams which "the writers like to write storys about" he explains that these situations were not so dangerous as long as you knew what to do. He continues:

Now another instance about driveing the writers like to write storys about the big log jams where men took long chances working on them and the story generally finishes up with somebody getting Killed or drowned, Well you take a river that^s suppose to be a natural water stream that is there is no dams or head waters on it probly the current in the river travels 4 miles an hour we^{ll} say this river is wide enough so that a jam say with about 1 ½ million feet of timber in it would nicely fill about 2 miles of the river, we^{ll} say that this drive has a lot of big timber in it that takes plenty of water to float, well parts of this river are peaces of water that are called riffels where the water is wavie going over the rocks and if the water was a little shalliour it would hit these rocks and break and that is what the old time rivermen called White water, Well a big log will hit one of these rocks and hang up



May be half way through the Riffels other logs coming down will hit this log and hang there with it and would cause what you^d call a wild center and it wouldn't be long till there would be a bad jam unless it was taken care of right away well as soon as the first big log got hung up the men would have to find some way of getting out to that log and roll it lose and send it down river and as these big logs are going to keep right on makeing trouble if the River Boss dont do some thing about it. Well he^{ll} get away from that trouble in this way. He^{ll} take some men and and grabe some of the logs as they are runing through and pull them in to bank and they'll work around till they^{ll} form a jam at the foot of the Riffels well where these Riffels are there is generaly a good sized drop from the head of the Rapids to the foot and the water runs pritty fast so when the logs coming down hit this jam they will pile up and they pile up the jam formed will back the water up and cause it to raise and as the logs Keep a coming the water Keep a raising and generaly where there Rapids there are good Banks so that the water is held in the Chanel of the River well as the water raises there will be presher behind the jam that the logs will pile up in all kinds of shape till that whole 2 miles of jam that was above the rapids will all be piled up in a jam about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long, after the last log is piled in the jam they^{ll} let it stand a while in order to let the water behind get more preisher be fore they start working on the head end to break jam loose again, Well breaking a jam of this Kind is what the story writers like to write about they make it look dangerous which it would be for any body that wasent experienced and the fore man would see to it that if a man was green at the job wouldnt be working where it was dangerous. Well the face of this jam would be 12 to 16 feet high from the river bed up piled in all Kinds of shap, the men would start in on one side close to the bank with there peaveys they^{ed} pry and lift and bull to get a few logs loose so they could get a small chanel back through the jam the water is running through the jam all the time so as they loosen a log it floats a way they^{ll} work this way till they get a channel 3 or 4 rods in to jam and clean out the logs next to the bank so there^{ll} be nothing binding and soon the logs will start looseing up from the bottom and pritty soon the whole jam would start hauling logs would turn end over end and logs 1 food through snap and break in two like you^d break a match with your fingers, as the logs would role down in to the deeper water below the rapids they would melt and spred out and continieued down the river the crew would be out on the logs with there Pike poles and peaveys helping the logs along so that they wouldnt jam any more till they got thined out in good shap, Well I just gave you a good discription of one of your dangerous jams I^v worked on more then one such jam and I never happen to be working on the River where any body was ever Killed or drowned all though such things have happened,

At another place in his account Harcourt seems to summarize the river drive in the following brief passage:

Now as I said the Muskegon was full of logs the year round and it being 320 miles long that dosent mean thets its 320 miles from Houghton lake to Muskegon they all ways figured that a river all ways run about 2 ½ miles to the cross country Mile, Well the crew that worked on the upper end of the River never went only so far down the River. The river was divided in to Beats same as a policemen's beat in a big City, One crew would take the logs so far and the Crew below them would keep them moving so on down the full length of the River till they landed at the Sorting Gap where they were sorted and pushed in to the Booms of the different companys that owned them the drive would start early in the spring and last till it froze up in the fall, the old saying was that theyed Break the ice in the spring and and Break her in the fall, . . .

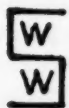
As the logs came near to the mouth of the logging rivers, or into a lake such as Muskegon Lake, they were sorted out according to log marks and put into booms. These booms were partially enclosed by means of long, squared timbers which were well chained together. Sorting and rafting men worked in crews with long pike poles and sharp eyes to identify each log as it passed leisurely through a central channel or sorting gap. Each boom area served as a slip where logs belonging to a given company or individual owner were picked out from the channel and retained in the proper boom. From time to time as logs accumulated the rafting men would bunch the logs together sideways thereby building a long raft. The logs were fastened together by a long hemp rope running the whole length of the raft, and each separate log was secured by a wedge shaped rafting pin made of hardwood with an inverted V or crotch cut out of the center, by which it straddled the rope and was then drawn down into the soft pine log. Since these log rafts had to be delivered to a designated mill some distance farther down the river, towing was done by small tugs. Usually four men were sufficient for this task.

Although the Charles Merrill Company at Saginaw organized its own boom company in 1856, it was not until 1864, based upon state legislative enactment, that the Tittabawassee Boom Company was formally organized. Other similar stock companies, owned and operated by lumbermen for mutual protection and profit, were soon established on all of the larger logging rivers in the state. However, the Muskegon and the Tittabawassee companies were the

largest. Both handled logs totaling four to eight hundred million board feet during each successive year in the 1880's.



Martha A. Hay

Palmerton Wooden-
Ware Co.E.O. & S.L.
Eastman Co.

W. R. Burt



Charles Lee



Rust Bros. Co.



Wells, Stone & Co.



Gebhart & Estabrook



Arthur Barnard



Gebhart & Estabrook

Charles Merrill
& Co.

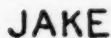
Mumford & Avery



Bliss & Van Auken



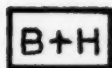
Sewell Avery



Whittier & Co.



Merrill & Ring

W. B. Mershon
& Co.
LOG MARKS

Brand & Hardin

Michigan log marks probably numbered into the thousands, each distinctive but some decidedly unusual. Marks consisted of a single letter or initials, or devices such as crossed keys, square and compass, a boot, an anchor, an animal head, or a square or diamond enclosing an initial letter in capitals two or three inches high. All such identification marks were registered by law in the courthouse of the county where the timber originally stood. One indication of the complex problem of identification faced by the sorting men was the fact that many hundreds of different log marks passed through the sorting gaps each season. In 1878 the annual report of the Tittabawassee Boom Company stated that some eleven hundred different log marks had been identified on the river that year.

Even as late as 1887 the logging rivers in Michigan's lower peninsula were still carrying a respectable volume of logs to the mills. Nearly two billion feet of logs were handled by boom companies in that year. The variation in log volume should be noted. Some river areas were almost logged out, though in former years they too were choked to capacity. By 1900 both the Tittabawassee and the Muskegon were floating less than twenty-five million each. The figures for 1887 boom company operations by rivers are as follows:

Tittabawassee	356,000,000
Cass	3,000,000
Bad	3,000,000
Kawkawlin	1,000,000
Au Gres	29,000,000
Rifle	60,000,000
Au Sable	249,000,000
Thunder Bay	138,000,000
Cheboygan	76,000,000
Manistee	209,000,000
Pere Marquette	89,000,000
Muskegon	582,000,000
White	64,000,000
Grand	48,000,000
<hr/>	
Total	1,908,000,000

THEN CAME THE RAILROADS

A TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION struck the Great Lakes lumbering region late in the 1870's, which continued to gain force during the next thirty years. This revolution permitted year-round logging, summer as well as winter, without dependence upon snow and ice alone. The forest monarchs fell with shattering force as new methods speeded up the tempo of destruction. Year-round cutting opened a new period of the slaughter of the forests. No longer were only the large trees cut on a selective basis. Literally everything went down at the mercy of the saw. Partially cut-over areas were cut over again and cleaned up once and for all time. Vast areas of untouched timber, five to ten miles or more back from a logging stream, were opened up to systematic cutting on a take-everything basis. All this was made possible because a young man, a log jobber in Clare County named Winfield Scott Gerrish, saw a new type of engine. He got an idea and put it to work.

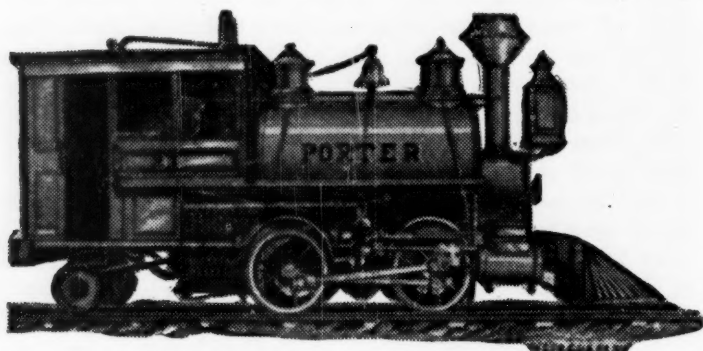
Like so many prominent Michigan lumbermen, the Gerrish family came from Maine. At the age of twelve his family moved from Wisconsin into Croton Township, Newaygo County, north of Grand Rapids. His father, Nathaniel L. Gerrish (later of Cadillac), was a born-and-bred lumberman.

At the age of eighteen, in 1867, young Gerrish took his first contract to "put in logs" on the Muskegon River, where he continued to operate during the rest of his life. Later, he took a big contract as jobber for the firm of Avery and Murphy. The logs were banked into Doc and Tom Creek, a small tributary of the Muskegon, west of Hersey. This creek was named after two famous Muskegon lumbermen, Delos (Doc) Blodgett and Thomas R. Stinson. The job proved to be most difficult that season. Lack of sufficient water to float the logs in so tiny a creek caused numerous delays and set backs. However, with remarkable ingenuity and perseverance the contract was completed with satisfaction.

During the next two years, new opportunities unfolded. With John L. Woods, he became a part owner of a twelve thousand acre tract of pine on the upper Muskegon. With another associate he pur-

chased a large tract in Township 18 North, Range 5 West, in Clare County, between Lake George and the Muskegon River. Then, in the summer of 1876, he took time off from busy logging operations to attend the great Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. While there he was fascinated by a small Baldwin locomotive. Was this the answer to the loggers' dream of a more dependable device than the sleigh for hauling logs? Perhaps this was just the kind of iron horse to haul the logs without dependence upon snow.

Returning to Michigan, he resolved to build a small steam railroad for logging purposes alone, to link holdings in the Lake George area with the Muskegon River six miles away. A company under his leadership was formed with six men as stockholders and



Taken from the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad map of 1878. From ad in Northwestern Lumberman, January 6, 1883.

H. K. PORTER & CO. LOCOMOTIVE AT PITTSBURGH

The advertisement accompanying this picture of a H. K. Porter locomotive states that:

A Logging Railroad is the cheapest and best plan for putting in logs, both on a large scale or on quite a small scale. With good locomotive and cars the expense of hauling does not exceed 25 to 40 cents per thousand feet, and at the end of years of hard work the rolling stock, if of good quality and treated with decent care, will be practically as good as new. Steam logging on iron rails is independent of weather or season; the output can be doubled by working nights; more logs can be got off the same land, as the poorer grades can be hauled with profit; windfalls and burnt timber can be marketed before damaged by worms and rot; timber lands distant from streams and railroads are made as valuable as any others.

\$75,000 of capital stock. Some \$50,000 was paid in to finance the undertaking. In October, 1876, the enterprise was begun amid boos from other loggers who thought the venture a foolish undertaking. Few loggers, indeed, considered it worthwhile to seek a year-round method of transporting logs.

The Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad when completed cost \$38,390 and consisted of two H. K. Porter Company locomotives and fifty logging cars. During that first season of operation the Gerrish Road carried 11,227 tons of logs at the rate of one-half mil-



THE LAKE GEORGE AND MUSKEGON RIVER RAILROAD

The Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad was the first successful logging railroad in the United States. This railroad was six miles north and west of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad, which passed through Farwell, Remich, and Lake Station. The sections and forties shaded on the map were a small portion of the huge grant of lands to the Flint and Pere Marquette. The Muskegon River, into which the logs carried by the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad were put, is shown at the top left corner.

lion board feet per day. While other loggers during the season of 1877 were struggling with the worst sleighing conditions in a decade, the peppy little Gerrish line alone succeeded in putting most of the logs that were banked into the Muskegon River that season.

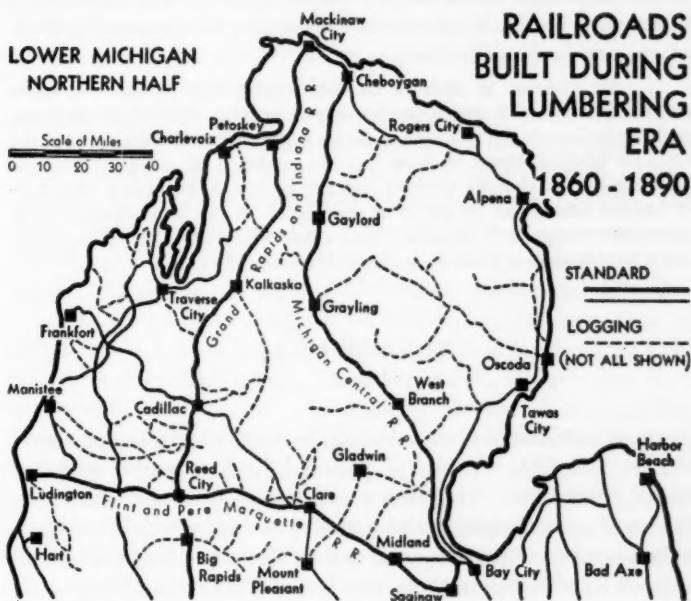
The brilliant success of the Lake George Railroad created a sensation in the lumber trade. During its first year of operation this road carried some 20 million board feet of logs, in 1879 it carried 114 million. In 1882, thirty-two of these narrow-gauge logging railroads were constructed in Michigan, and by 1889 there were eighty-nine such logging railroads in operation, totaling almost 450 miles of track. The little iron horses had, indeed, fulfilled young Gerrish's dream. They were a spectacular success; and a new era had begun.

But Gerrish did not survive to reap the harvest that was due him. On May 19, 1882, at the age of 33, he was stricken by a spine affliction and acute inflammation of the kidneys, and died suddenly at the home of a sister in Evart, not many miles from the scene of his spectacular triumph.

Another phase of the transportation revolution as applied to the lumber industry was the building of regular style, standard railroads. During a twenty-year period, largely after the Civil War, several railroads had been extended northward from Saginaw, Bay City, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon. The Pere Marquette, today a part of the Chesapeake and Ohio, took twelve years (1862 to 1874) to span the distance from Saginaw to Ludington. Every station along the line started out as a supply depot for neighboring logging camps, but soon became a thriving village possessing one or more sawmills, shingle mills, and small factories using forest products. Increasingly, the railroads began to haul logs and lumber as well as numerous other supplies.

The Michigan Central Railroad joined the growing competition for a share in the lumber trade. These branches extended from Detroit to Bay City and up the Huron shore to Mackinaw City; and from Jackson through Lansing to Saginaw, then to Stanton, West Branch, Grayling, Gaylord, and on to the Straits by 1882. In the same year the Pennsylvania Railroad acquired the Grand Rapids and Indiana running north through Grand Rapids, Cadillac, Petos-

key, and on to the Straits. Scores of lesser roads completed the network of rail transportation through the northern half of the lower peninsula, each with lateral feeder lines running deeper into the interior, uncut forest. The small gauge logging railroads also served as feeders to some of these main lines, or to logging rivers, or to the numerous saw mills fast being established at interior towns.



Railroads followed a similar pattern and purpose in the long, slender Upper Peninsula. There they were not limited to the lumber trade, but rather to copper and iron and general merchandise as well. Large logging operators increased the annual log output by ten times their former rate. With the full use of the railroad facilities, firms formerly cutting three to five million feet a season were now cutting thirty to fifty million during a full season. Lumbermen, including Augustus A. Carpenter, Nelson Ludington, Louis Sands, Eber B. Ward; and the partnership firms of Cutler and Savage, Ryerson and Hills, Blodgett and Byrne, Wright and

Ketchum, to mention a few, attained in certain years record production of fifty million to one hundred million feet in a season. Such operations required immense holdings of timber, eight or ten camps linked together by thirty or forty miles of logging railroad, several fully equipped trains, numerous teams of horses and perhaps four hundred well housed, well fed and well organized men.

The advantages of the railroad "way of logging" were interestingly summarized by the *Northwestern Lumberman* for January 20, 1883, when it said editorially, that:

. . . the question of snow or weather need not be considered; when the market makes it desirable the output can be doubled by working nights; the length of the haul can be increased with very slight increased costs for hauling; about $\frac{1}{4}$ more logs are marketed off the same land, as poorer grades or cheaper kinds of logs can be hauled profitably; windfalls or burned timber can be got in at once before it can be damaged by rot or worms; timberlands far away from streams or main lines of roads are made as valuable as those more favorably situated.

THE SAWMILLS

LOGGERS AND LUMBERJACKS working in the Michigan forests turned out an incredible amount of potential lumber in the sixty-year period, 1840-1900: 161 billion board feet of pine and about fifty billion of cedar, hemlock, and a variety of hardwoods. Roughly a billion saw logs were transported to the mills, sawed into lumber and shipped to wholesale markets, principally Albany and Chicago. In all, Michigan produced fifty per cent more pine than did Wisconsin and Minnesota combined, during this period.

Long before Michigan pine was cut in commercial quantity, sawmills were already well established in Michigan. In 1837, the year Michigan became a state, 435 sawmills were doing business and all but eighty-seven were located in the lower four tiers of counties. These were local, pioneer mills, cutting hardwoods, and only occasionally a little pine. Some thirty years later (1873) more than half of the 1600 mills counted by the state census were located in the area of the pineries, north of a line from Port Huron across to Grand Haven.

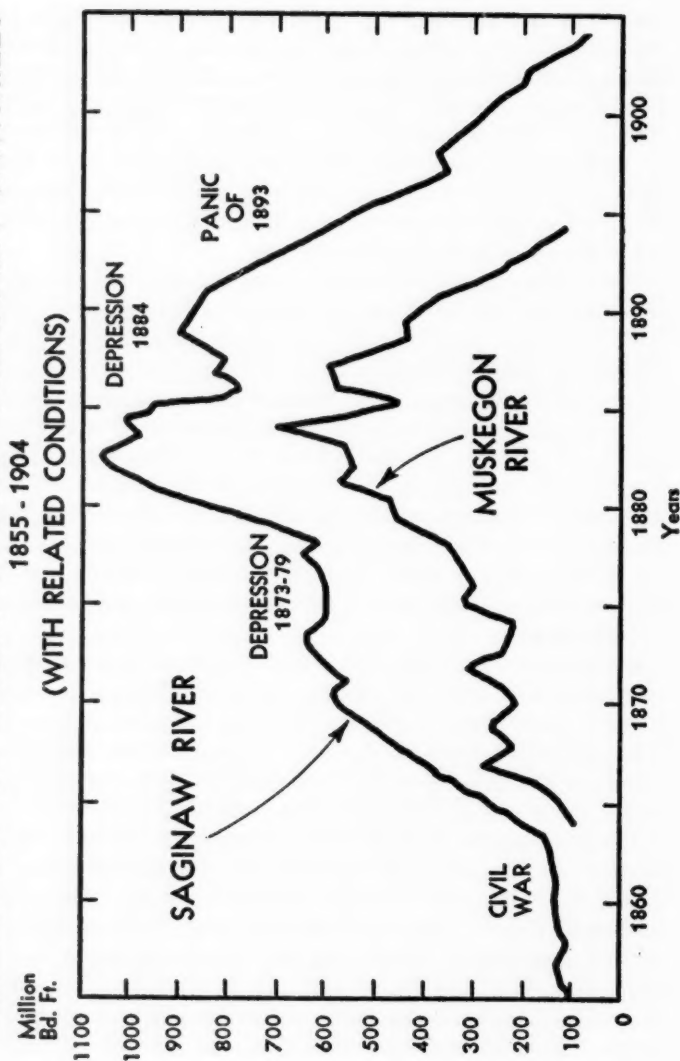
Before the 1800's, a few small water-power mills were located in the Detroit area but they were of local significance only. The first steam mills began to appear at Saginaw, St. Clair, and Detroit in the 1830's. The Palmer-Jerome mill, built in 1826 at Palmer in St. Clair County, may have been the first actual steam-power mill in Michigan. This pioneer mill cut only one thousand feet of lumber in a day, and perhaps a little more if everything went well. Even at this rate the currently used sash saw and the faster operating Muley or upright saw cut far more lumber than was possible by use of the hand-operated pit or whip saw.

About ninety per cent of the mills in operation before the coming of the railroads were at or near the mouth of a large navigable river. Such a location permitted the logs to be collected from a large interior area and the sawed lumber to be shipped out on either Lake Huron or Lake Michigan. Port Huron, Bay City, Saginaw, Oscoda, Alpena, and Cheboygan on the Lake Huron shore; and Grand Haven, Muskegon, Whitehall, Pentwater, Ludington, Manistee, Traverse City, and Petoskey on the Lake Michigan shore were all mill towns to a greater or lesser degree. Also on the northern Lake Michigan shore Menominee, Escanaba, and Manistique were leading northern mill centers. The greatest centers of mill activity, however, were the Saginaw and Bay City area, Muskegon, Manistee, and Menominee.

Before proceeding further it is essential that we examine by description and reference to the accompanying pictures, the technological improvement of the saw from the whip saw to the gang saw, and the circular saw, in order to appreciate the mechanical revolution that occurred in lumber production. These changes occurred during a thirty-year period from about 1850 to 1880.

The pit or whip saw was the conventional hand tool operated by two men for the sawing or ripping of logs into lumber from the days of the Pharaohs down to the eighteenth century. Then came the famous English gate or sash saw, the most significant improvement in centuries for sawing logs into boards. Basically, it consisted of a long, thin-bladed saw placed vertically in a small, rectangular, upright wooden frame, and rigidly held at both top and bottom. Then like a window sash, the frame and saw were made to glide within grooves of two vertical posts or side frames. The

LUMBER CUT BY SAGINAW AND MUSKEGON SAWMILLS



weight of the frame and saw provided the cutting power on the downstroke. The log to be sawed was placed on a slightly inclined platform behind the saw and easily fed into the teeth of the saw on the upstroke; whereas, on the downstroke, a short cut was made into the log; then by raising the framed saw the log advanced the depth of the cut and was in position for the next cut. When water power, then later, steam power, was applied to operate this saw, greater speed and efficiency resulted. Then, when multiple saws were mounted into a much larger frame—as many as forty to sixty—tremendous output was achieved. This gang saw became the monstrous giant of the mill. These massive gang saws were capable of ripping two or three logs simultaneously into fully cut boards.

The circular saw came into Michigan almost simultaneously with the period of development of the gang saw. The principle of a whirling disk mounted on a shaft or arbor with saw-teeth on the outer edge of the disk was patented in England as early as 1777. The first circular saw in the United States is presumed to have been produced by Benjamin Cummins about 1814 at Bentonville, N.Y. Later he came to Michigan, and died at Richland, Kalamazoo County, and now lies in that cemetery. Circular saws had proved themselves in the sawmills of Maine and New York before they were introduced into Michigan, apparently just before 1850. A major problem in the early circular saw was that saw teeth frequently broke off, and even the disk shattered at times under high speeds and tension. Individually inserted teeth were experimented with by 1840, but it was not until nearly 1860 that a California man discovered that curved sockets would hold teeth securely. When perfected by the leading saw manufacturing companies, these better designed and constructed circulars took a favored position along with the gang saws as the mainstay of the sawmill. The improved circulars were thinner, faster, and more dependable.

Sawmill production increased more than tenfold within a period of twenty to thirty years. The early mills in the 1850's averaged about three million annual cut, while the range in productivity spread from one and a half million to six million. Some thirty years later (1882) the medium or average sized mills in Michigan were producing from ten to twenty million board feet of lumber annually, while approximately ten per cent of the mills produced from twenty

to above fifty million. And yet, the number of so-called small mills, those that produced less than ten million, constituted more than half of the mills listed by the *Northwestern Lumberman* in 1883. The important thing to notice is that even at the peak period of the lumber production in Michigan half of the mills were relatively small.



The Eber B. Ward mill built in 1872 on the Pere Marquette River near Ludington was reported to be "the model mill of Michigan" at that time. The mill dimensions were 56 x 160 feet, with engine and boiler room 55 x 71 feet. The property had a water frontage of some 2,500 feet, with ample shipping facilities, principally to Chicago. The mill used two circular saws, 52 inch and 54 inch,

as well as a gang of 42 saws and two gang edgers for trimming. The mill capacity was rated at twenty to thirty million per year.

The mill of John McGraw and Company was interestingly reported by a staff correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, a reprint of which appeared in the November 3, 1877 issue of the *Lumberman's Gazette*.

The mill of John McGraw and Company is at the upper end of Bay City. The firm owns 600 acres of land, and a third of their property is occupied by their saw mill, salt works, drying kilns, and other buildings and storage places. The sawmill has a greater capacity than any other in this section, and is believed to be the largest in the world. It is rated at 40,000,000 feet of lumber for the season, but, if needed could be worked up to double that capacity. Over 350 men are employed, and during the past six weeks over 200,000 feet of lumber have been cut every day. One day, when the mill was tested to its utmost capacity, 180,000 feet were cut in three hours, or at the rate of 675,000 feet for the day of 11¼ working hours. Indeed, 335,000 feet were cut in one day, not long ago, when the mill was not driven hard. Last season, over 31,000,000 feet were sawn by day, and about 6,000,000 by night. The drying kilns have a capacity of 500,000 feet of lumber. Here, also, steam from the sawmills, which would otherwise be wasted, is used for drying the lumber in kilns. The salt works have a capacity of about 50,000 barrels for the season. Part of the 600 acres is used for farming purposes, and part is woodland. Like Sage and Co.'s mill, this one possesses a very extensive waterfront, along which are immense piles of lumber. The proprietors do not depend, however, entirely on water transportation. The Flint and Pere Marquette Railway has a branch track leading into the yard, and cars from all the principal lines East and West may be seen loading here at all times.

All sawmills were fundamentally alike in basic structure, being two-story buildings, usually built of wood and close to a river or lake. From the company boom well stocked with logs, each log was lifted to the second floor sawing area by means of a long inclined V shaped trough up which a log was carried by an endless chain with sharp lugs attached. The furnace and power plant were housed in a frame lean-to adjoining the main mill. A structure resembling a huge silo with a big chimney was used for the refuse burning of slabs and sawdust. The second floor was the working area of the mill. Here were set up one or two large circular saws with the log carriage operating back and forth along the short track located parallel to the saw. On the other side of the mill the giant

gang saw labored noisily and powerfully to rip lengthwise two logs simultaneously, the logs being fed continuously along live rollers into the multiple saws set for cutting one inch boards. In the larger and more fully mechanized mills most of the handling of both logs and boards was accomplished by "live" or powered rollers serving as conveyors. Practically no lifting or handling was done by the mill men themselves, though this was not true in the early or small mills. Rough boards were carried along from the saws to large gang edgers and cutoff saws where edges and ends were cut to specified dimensions. Refuse pieces fell on conveyors for conveyance to the furnaces or refuse burner; while the lumber itself was conveyed to the piling area for natural drying.

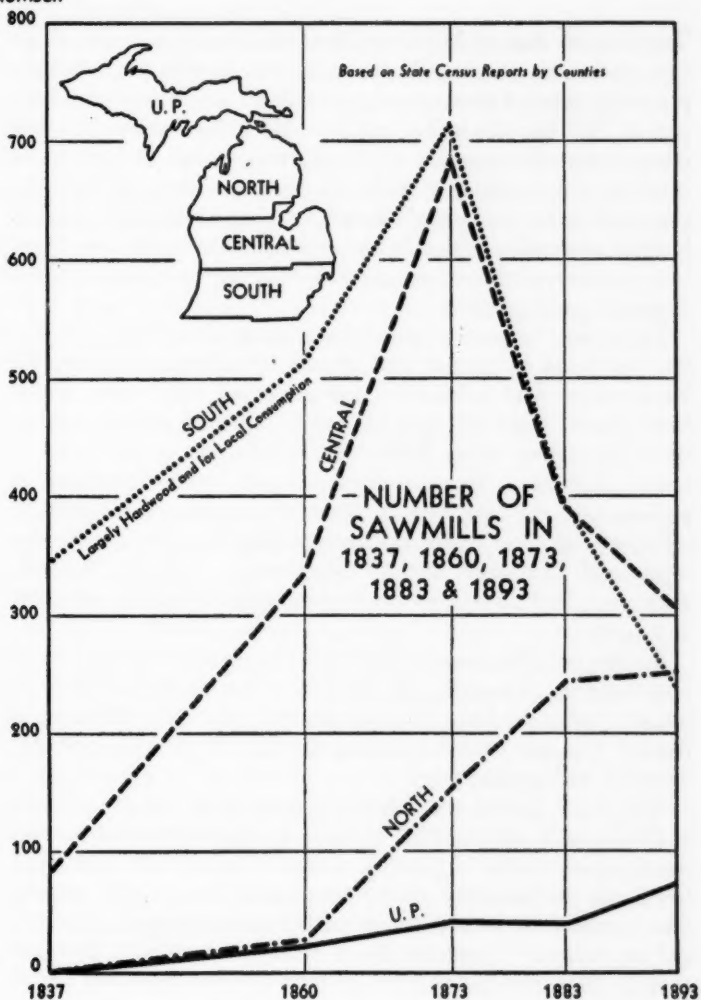
By the eighteen-eighties fully mechanized mill equipment was available and widely used when companies sought productive output above twenty or thirty million per season. Some firms even set up two or three separate mills to handle vastly increased business. Most of the leading mill centers had at least one such consolidated or multiple company. In the mill industry they constituted the big business firms of that day.

Bigness, however, was not the dominant factor. For every big mill there were twenty average sized mills cutting eight to ten million, and thirty or forty small firms still doing business averaging less than five million feet per year. In the interior towns along the railroads these medium and small mills prevailed, along with hundreds of small, crudely constructed shingle mills. In the aggregate, however, these interior mills turned out a great deal of lumber, largely transported by rail to interior markets outside of Michigan. In later years these mills sawed more hemlock, cedar, and hardwoods than they did pine.

Mills along the Huron shore from Saginaw to Cheboygan faced a grave problem of declining quantity and quality of logs with the rapid depletion of log supply even before the 1890's began. Both Eastern and Western wholesale lumber dealers (Chicago and Albany) complained of the increasingly poor quality of Michigan pine. Some firms closed up business and moved operations into the South using southern, yellow pine, or into Minnesota or to the West Coast. Many mills just shut down for good. Others, however, purchased large tracks of timber lands in Canada around the Georgian Bay

area, and by means of huge rafting operations were able to supply their mills for several years more.

NUMBER



BARREN LANDS GREEN AGAIN

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MICHIGAN PINE was coming to a close at the turn of the last century. In its wake came a rapid decline of the prosperity which had so abundantly infused and sustained a large part of Michigan for half a century. Many lumbermen moved to other states, others turned to cutting maple, oak, and cherry or hemlock, cedar, poplar or jackpine. Some villages, for a while, sustained themselves by small factories turning out quantities of such items as toothpicks, mixing bowls, clothespins, or butter tubs. Some cities and towns became famous furniture centers and manufacturers of special wood products.

Everywhere across the countryside there remained after the pine era, vast areas of cutover land, dotted by ugly pine stumps, the blackened scars of inevitable forest fires, and wide open, barren, sand wastes. Light soils gave out quickly under ill-advised farming, where crops were either frozen out, burned out, or just failed to mature profitably. Many an unpainted and sagging farmhouse, or perhaps a nearby lilac bush, a pile of field stone, or a crumbling cellar wall are silent evidences of human tragedy—abandoned homesteads and abandoned hopes. Ghost towns, such as Meredith, Seney, and Deward became the desolate hallmark of economic decay and death.

But the past fifty years has produced a truly amazing change and improvement. The hills and plains of our once cutover areas no longer appear desolate—not entirely, at least. New forests and wooded lots are becoming larger, greener, and more noticeably beautiful each passing year.

Half of the land area of Michigan today, as we open the decade of the sixties, is still classified as forest, nearly twenty million acres, two-thirds of which is privately owned. Scientifically controlled tree farms are assuming greater importance yearly. Our twenty-three state and five national forests are increasingly impressive, useful, and appreciated. There are almost as many sawmills in Michigan today as there were in 1873, though most of them are smaller and of the modern portable type. A few large mills, however, flourish in

the Upper Peninsula; though they no longer specialize in the sawing of Michigan white pine. And yet, Michigan's annual sawmill cut totals an impressive five to seven hundred million board feet, largely for pulpwood and fuel wood.

Enlightened policies of the Michigan Conservation Commission during the past fifty years has fostered intelligent forest growth and preservation, better soil and land-use programs, besides fish and game controls. Above all, however, has been the remarkable growth of conservation-mindedness of our citizens everywhere. The widespread planting of pine seedlings for school forest projects, the tremendous development of private plantings, and reforestation in general demonstrates this new attitude. The Michigan out-of-doors in this generation means more to more people than ever before.

The motto of the Great Seal of the State of Michigan appropriately states in Latin: "Si quaeris peninsulam amoenam circumspice," meaning "if you seek a pleasant peninsula, look about you."

SOURCES USED

The author has accumulated considerable notes and data on the lumber industry of Michigan. For this article he has drawn primarily from the following sources: George W. Hotchkiss, *The History of the Lumber and Forest Industry in the Northwest* (Chicago, 1898); David Ward's, *Autobiography* (New York, 1912); John Fitzmaurice, *The Shanty Boy* (Cheboygan, 1889); and Stewart Edward White, *The Blazed Trail* (New York, 1902). Much use was made of his own notes from the files of the *Lumberman's Gazette*, 1872-79 (Bay City); and from the *Northwestern Lumberman*, (Chicago), 1883-90; and Charles S. Sargent "Report on the Forests of the United States," in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, volume 13, part 9, document 42 (47 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1883).

Some original sources were used from the Carl Leech Papers in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan and from the Michigan Pine Land Association Papers in the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library.

The author has made use of his own large collection of lumbering pictures, copies of which were acquired from many different

sources, but primarily from the Burton Historical Collection and reproduced for him by Mr. Sylvester Lucas formerly of the Detroit Institute of Art.

Three other useful sources were: Arthur Hill, "The Pine Industry in Michigan," and John Bertram, "The Reproduction of White Pine in North America," in *Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association*, 3:1-2, 13-17 (December, 1898); and Charles M. Davis, "The Development of Settlements in Northern Michigan," in *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 42:268-74 (Summer, 1936).

RECOMMENDED READING

Earl Beck, *Songs of the Michigan Lumberjacks* (Ann Arbor, 1941).

Stewart H. Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinac* (New York, 1938).

Lewis C. Reimann, *When Pine Was King* (Ann Arbor, 1952).

Harold H. Titus, *Michigan Log Marks* (East Lansing, 1941).

Wallace C. Wadsworth, *Paul Bunyan and His Great Blue Ox* (New York, 1926).

Many excellent articles are to be found in the volumes of the *Michigan History* magazine including those by Ferris E. Lewis, Carl Leech, Rolland H. Maybee, and others.

Reprints of Dr. Rolland H. Maybee's article on lumbering will be for sale April 1, 1960, at \$1.00 per copy. Teachers will be given 50 per cent off; dealers who order ten or more copies, 40 per cent off. The pamphlet may be obtained from the Michigan Historical Commission, Lewis Cass Building, Lansing 13, Michigan.



Courtesy, Burton Historical Collection

MATURE WHITE PINE NEAR ST. HELENA IN 1890



BIG WHEELS AT SALLING, HANSON & COMPANY, GRAYLING,
1888. USED FOR SUMMER LOGGING AND EFFECTIVE FOR
SMALLER JOB WORK



Courtesy, Burton Historical Collection

MAIN DRIVE MUSKEGON RIVER, AUGUST 1887



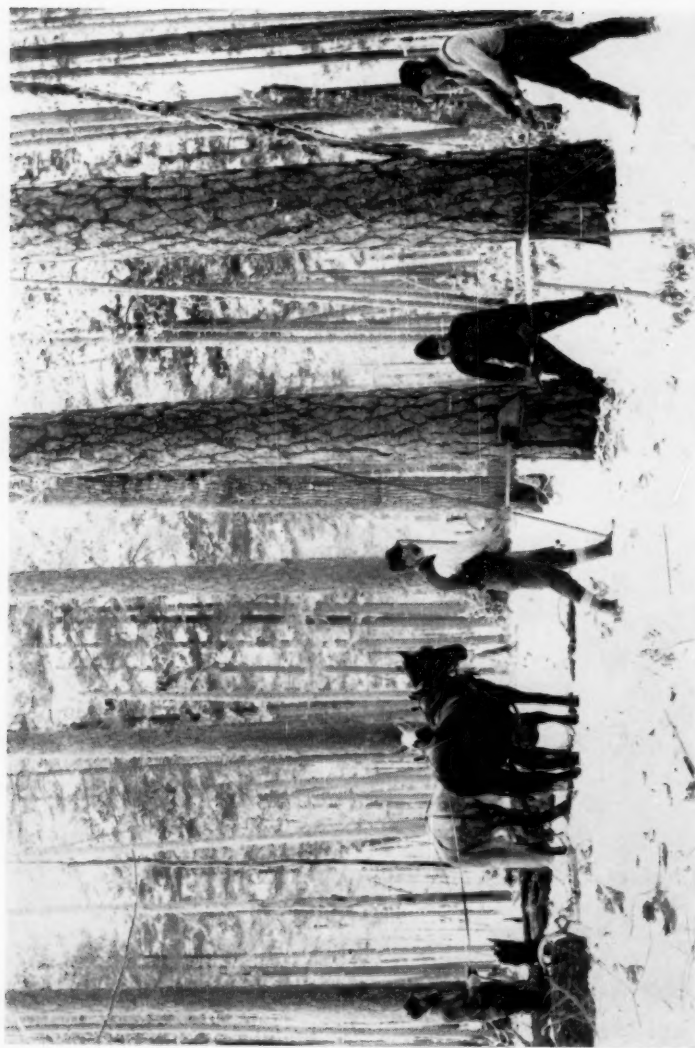
Courtesy, Burton Historical Collection

THE LOUIS SANDS MILL AT MANISTEE, 1898, SHOWING LOG BOOM, LARGE MILL, REFUSE BURNER, SALT BLOCKS, SCHOONERS, STEAMSHIP, LUMBER DRYDOCKS



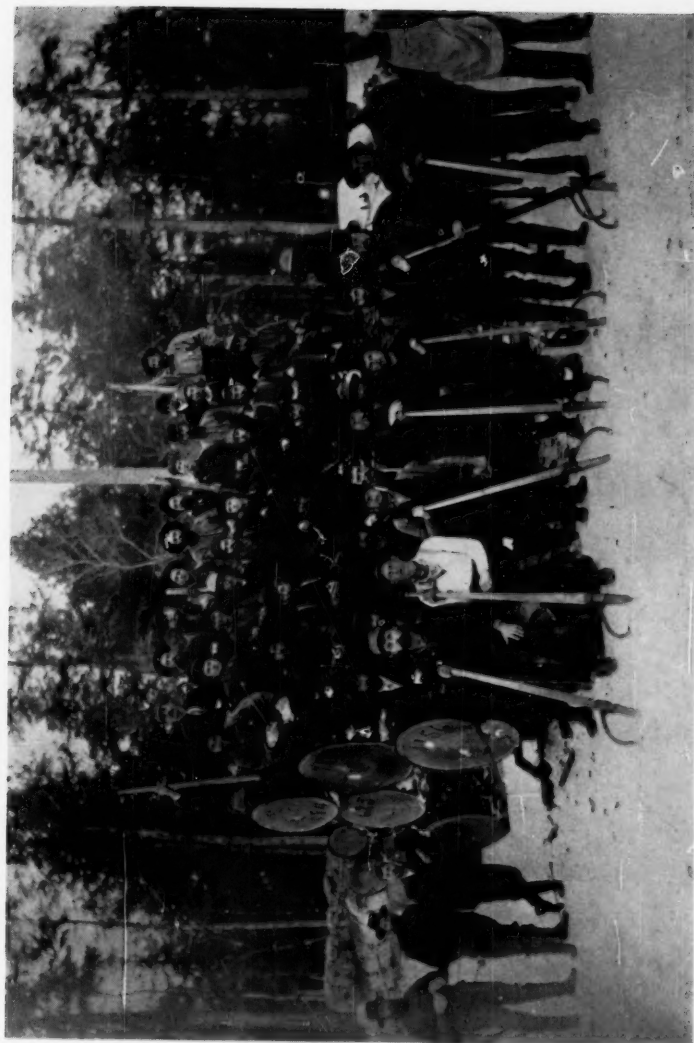
Courtesy, Burton Historical Collection

THE MANN AND MOON MILL, LAKE SIDE, MUSKEGON, 1867, A SUBSTANTIALLY BUILT EARLY MILL



Courtesy, Burton Historical Collection

SAWYERS AND LOG SKIDDER CUTTING WHITE AND NORWAY PINE



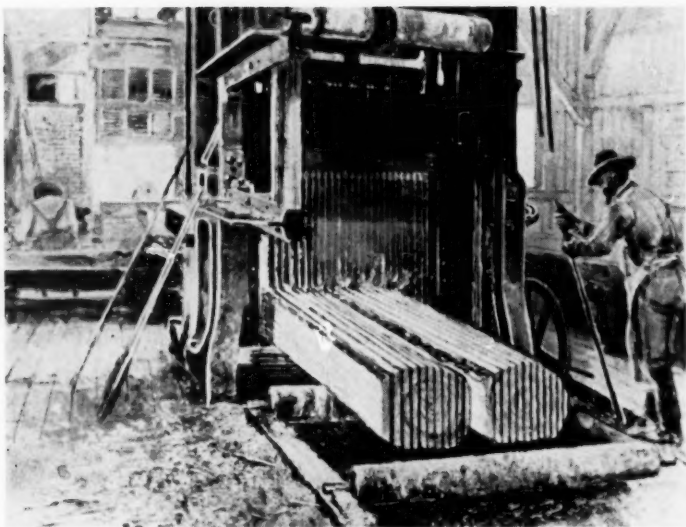
THE DAVID WARD CAMP ON THE MANISTEE, 1885. LARGE LOGS 484-1156 B.F. EACH. 43 MEN.
WILLIS C. WARD, SON, THIRD FROM LEFT



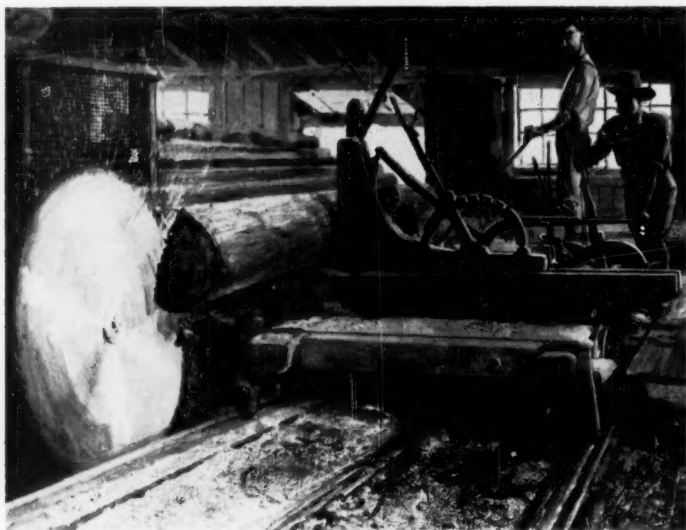
Courtesy, Barton Historical Collection
SMALL BUNKHOUSE OF THE LATE 1870'S



LOG TRAIN AT WRIGHT AND KETCHAM BANKING GROUNDS ON THE TOBACCO RIVER,
ABOUT 1880
Courtesy, Goodrich Brothers and Sugihaw Daily News



GANG SAW



CIRCULAR SAW

These two pictures were drawn by Harry Fenn for St. Nicholas Magazine, volume 25 (Nov.-Apr., 1897-98). Original drawings copied by Lemon Studio, Marquette. Courtesy, Marquette County Historical Society.

Michigan Journal, 1836, John M. Gordon

Edited by

Douglas H. Gordon and George S. May

[Concluded from the Issue of September, 1959.]

Saturday[,] 3 P. M. Octr: 14th[15th]. Clem and I mounted our horses after breakfast and galloped 3 or 4 miles down the Beach, which is a fine hard sand but not so good as Nahant for a ride. The road to Chicago lies along the Lake shore and is in some places under water for several miles so as to render the travelli[ng] difficult if not hazardous during the prevalence of certain winds. At this time there is no conveyance to Chicago other than in small vessels which are unsafe at this season, and the road to Galena from Chicago is said to be so bad that I have altogether abandoned the idea of going farther west. The navigation of Lake Michg. is in the present state of things very perilous. The sailors have no skill, the vessels are badly built and when they are overtaken far out by a blow and those ugly short waves, they make one plunge, and go down to the bottom without a moment's warning. There have been many wrecks of this kind within two years. When the vessels happen to be near the shore, there is little danger, for the beach being smooth & sandy, in such position when a blow comes the crew run directly for the shore & drive the vessel up high and dry. But, I am told that it is a case of constant occurrence for a vessel to put out of harbour just before a storm & never to appear again by the slightest trace.²³⁷ Lake Michg. is very deficient in Harbours, and hence the importance of the few good ones which exist. The mouth of the St Joseph is of this kind and the town will doubtless become a place of great importance. A few years will cover the Lake, like Erie, with Steam boats & vessels of all classes and the borders of Wisconsin & those states which have a footing on the

²³⁷Although Gordon was exaggerating somewhat when he spoke of "many wrecks" on Lake Michigan in a two-year period, the hazards confronting the crews and passengers of lake vessels at this time were very real ones. See Quaife, *Lake Michigan*, 248-61, and Bowen, *Shipwrecks of the Lakes*, 3-5.

Lakes will begin to [be] filled with a most thriving population. These shores have all the advantages of a Mediterranean coast and it is worthy of remark that nature has made these great Lakes to bend & turn so as to afford the greatest convenience to the greatest extent of country. Add to this the tributaries of the Lakes & their facility to be improved by canals, &c and Michg. in particular from all her advantages of soil & position is to be one of the Granaries of our country. When the rail Road to St Joseph from Detroit is finished, immigrants will pour in, and the improvement of the former advance with rapid strides thence forward. The first 30 miles of this Road will be completed next spring, if the work goes on as fast as is expected.²³⁸ Some ten or 15 years will present the anomaly of a population of labourers with Landed estate, all with property of value and no paupers. This is already happening in the southern states, but their prosperity, from the nature of their staple, the character of the people, their kind of labour, &c &c is always liable to sudden checks & great retrogradations. The free states on the contrary, may be arrested but are not so easily put back in the race of improvement.

The lands at which I shall look near Pawpaw lake I consider valuable from their proximity to this place. They are some 15 miles distant, have navigable water to the lake and will have a market in the town as it improves, or else a good harbour for shipment. All the Lands nearer are taken.

4 P. M. I have just heard from Dr. Abbot,²³⁹ one of the owners of Abbotts Mills, a report that the President has ordered all the land offices to be closed. He heard it at Niles from a passenger who had just come in from Detroit. I do not credit the rumour, but if it be true I am completely sewed up with my Treasury receipts, they are unavailable in every respect.²⁴⁰ We have determined to stay here

²³⁸For the progress made in building this railroad, see footnote 162 above.

²³⁹Information which Gordon gives below about Mrs. Abbott, makes it possible to identify "Dr. Abbot" as Lucius Abbott (1791-1863) who was born in Coventry, Connecticut. He was appointed assistant surgeon, U. S. A., in 1828 and was stationed at Fort Howard, Green Bay. He resigned in 1834 and resided in Detroit and later in Hartford, Connecticut, where he died. Lemuel Abijah Abbott, *Descendants of George Abbott, of Rowley, Mass.*, 1:442 (n. p., 1906).

²⁴⁰Gordon was correct in believing that this rumor was without foundation.

to night and to proceed on tomorrow. Delivered Dunlaps papers today to Messrs. Conger and Lawrence.²⁴¹

Sunday Noon[,] Octr 15th[16th][.] Just arrived on our route back. In crossing the Pawpaw, in the boat, my young horse became frightened by the flapping of the sails and was with difficulty prevented from jumping into the River. At this place we take a snack and then diverge from the road on the left-hand into the woods in T4S Range 17 W section 20 (which we are now in) and examine sections 12 and 13 and thence proceed up to town 3 S to look at some sections on and near Lake Pawpaw, on the edge of which we shall lodge. A Rail Road is talked of from this point to St Joseph as a branch [?] ²⁴² of that laid out to Detroit, the direction of which, however, is not altogether concluded upon yet. We saw at St. Joseph Mrs. Abbott, wife of the Dr: and relict of Captain Helen who with a body of regulars was massacred under the walls of the fort at Chicago, by the Indians, in the last year. She escaped by the protection of an Indian Chief, who took her in his arms and ran into the river beyond the tomahawks of his warriors whom after much persuasion he prevailed upon to spare her life.²⁴³ She has

²⁴¹The editors have been unable to determine the identity of Dunlap. Conger probably was Thomas Conger, an attorney, who came to St. Joseph in 1834 and served as judge of probate, village president, and recorder before moving to California in 1849. Edwin Lawrence (1808-1885) came to Michigan from Vermont in 1834 and was admitted to the bar in Berrien County in October, 1836. He later moved to Ann Arbor where he served as circuit judge. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 143, 144, and 317; E. D. Lay, "Memorial Report—Washtenaw County," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 9:85 (Lansing, 1886).

²⁴²This word is not clear in the manuscript.

²⁴³Although Gordon has some of the facts about her mixed up, the woman to whom he is referring is obviously John H. Kinzie's stepdaughter, Margaret McKillip (1794-1844), who was born near Colchester, Ontario. In 1810 she married an officer of the garrison at Detroit, Lieutenant Linai T. Helm. In 1811, Helm was transferred to Fort Dearborn at Chicago. During the Fort Dearborn massacre at the outbreak of the War of 1812, Mrs. Helm was saved from death by a friendly Indian, Black Partridge, who seized her and held her out in the lake until the slaughter had ended. Helm was wounded, but not killed during the fighting. Mrs. Helm's recital of this event was quoted by Mrs. Juliette Kinzie in her description of the massacre in her book, *Wau-Bun*. Chicago's monument commemorating the massacre has as its central theme Black Partridge's rescue of Mrs. Helm. In 1829 Mrs. Helm divorced her husband, and in 1836 she married Dr. Lucius Abbott of Detroit. She died at Detroit in 1844. Ernest E. East, "The Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 37:144 (June, 1944); Milo

seen many bloody scenes on the frontier during the last war and has been so affected by them that she is never seen to smile. She is a middle aged[,] fine looking woman, with a masculine face deeply furrowed by scenes she has been through.

Sunday Evg. 9 oclock Keyes[.]²⁴⁴ We are comfortably housed for the night at the cabin of a settler named Keyes who has been here one year. He is living some 3 miles from the St Joseph road and has very easy access to it by a road of his own through the woods. A storm is coming on of wind and rain, and I felicitate myself in having a shelter over my head to meet it. Leaving Davis at about 1 P. M. we entered the woods and proceed[ed] to sections 12 & 13 which we examined by first running the line between them. They are finely timbered and both of excellent quality. The growth is large poplar, oak, Elm, Hickory, &c some pine. Level & dry but well watered. some wet meadow. The soil is doubtless deep as indicated by the growth of Forest trees, above enumerated. I shall apply for both sections.²⁴⁵ They are about two miles from the Road[.] We intended proceeding to night as far as Abbotts Mills, but a cold rain coming on we retraced our course for a mile and are now in section 11 near 10.²⁴⁶ The old man has given us a kind reception, a good supper of milk[,] potatoes and fresh eggs & has turned his horses out of the stable to admit ours. He has cut his hand very severely with an axe, a grievous misfortune to a settle[r] who has everything to make for himself. However he has several sturdy sons, who seem to be smart and industrious. A daughter about 16 is really a beauty. Indeed I have seen a great deal of that exotic in Michg. They go among the settlers by the name of prarie pigeons. Deacon has given the old man a story about his being lost one night in a prarie among the saux [Sauk] Indians, and he is now telling,

M. Quaife, "Detroit and Early Chicago," in *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, 5:41 (January, 1927).

²⁴⁴This should probably be McKeyes. Samuel McKeyes (d. 1853) came to Michigan in 1835 from Broome County, New York, with his wife and five children. He settled first at Prairie Ronde but soon moved to Berrien County where he bought sixteen 80-acre tracts of government land and made his home in section 11 of Bainbridge Township. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 215.

²⁴⁵Gordon entered 400 acres of section 12 on November 24, 1836, and 240 acres of section 13 of T4S, R17W, on November 25, 1836. Tract Book for Berrien County.

²⁴⁶This number is not clear in the manuscript. It could be number 12.

in turn, the adventure of a young man who was lately lost in this neighbourhood, I put it down as he states it. A short time since about day break he heard a knock at his door. It being an unusual hour for any one to be stirring so far in the woods from the main road, he asked who it was before opening the door. Receiving an unintelligible answer, he took down the bar, opened the door & saw a young man of haggard appearance with his clothes much torn by the bushes, & muddy, standing before him. "How are you sir," says Keyes. "How are you sir" says he. "I see you don't know me." No. I have never seen you before, but come in stranger and warm yourself by the fire. The young man walked in and began to talk in a style which shewed his mind was wandering. I waked my wife up & made her cook some breakfast for him, which he eat very greedily. After a while he got sickish & faint and we put him in our bed where he laid several days delirious. We attended to him the best we knew how and after a while he came to his right mind & remembered how he came to my door. He said he had gone out 3 or 4 miles with a party into the woods on Black River hunting land. By some chance he was seperated from his companions and having no pocket compass or map soon became lost and confused. He walked on all day following the surveyors lines until night when he slept on the ground. The next day he lost the lines, and then walked on in as straight a direction as he could shape his course. He was now very hungry and eat such berries as he could find. It then began to rain and continued to do so for several days. He had no fire and walked on as long as he could to keep himself warm. In this way he continued to wander in the mazes of the woods, shouting at times in the hope of being near a house or some party in the forests, often deluded & led astray by the Echo of his own voice, or a Jack o' the lantern. at last through fatigue, hunger, cold and dispair, he lost his recollection and has no memory of any thing until the morning when about day break he heard the crowing of a cock which he remembers following until he reached the door and then he had no consciousness until he found himself lying in bed. Keyes thinks he must have come 60 miles through the woods over bogs, streams, &c &c [.] The last night he slept out he was within 100 yds of the house, which he could not see for the woods. I stop here to talk to the family. The wind is blowing a storm. How awful to

be in the woods on such a night, with the largest trees falling all around you.

Monday[,] 7 A. M. We slept in the loft last night with the Boys. I closed my eyes at a late hour not without serious fear at being awakened or killed, possibly, by the falling of a tree on the roof. It blew a tornado about midnight and, this morning, I see many trees with their limbs or tops twisted off. It is very common in this part of the state to have what are called wind falls. That is, some thing like a whirl wind, descends upon a forest and cuts a path for itself like a scythe through a field of wheat. I heard a gentleman say he was out one night in such a blow, and he was dodging large trees all night which were falling around him, somewhere in this part of the state. Our Host, this morning would receive no pay. We have contributed a sum which Deacon is to lay out in a dress as a present to the pretty daughter. Keyes has just taken me into a field to shew me the change of colour in the ground caused by ploughing. The line of the plough may be traced as distinctly as a black mark on the edge of the soil which has not been turned as yet. He is anxious to sell in order to buy more land at Govrt. prices & as I think has his eye on 11 & 12 which join him. I stop to saddle my horse.

Monday[,] 6 P. M. Beningers[.]²⁴⁷ We are in the shed of another settler in Range 17 W T.3.S. section 21. Leaving Keyes, after breakfast, we reached Abbotts Mills (where we took a snack) in 2 hours over a very bad road. Abbot & Smith have some 50 hands employed in building a mill &c &c[.] They own a large body of Land about the Lake which they expect to be the site of a town.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷Gordon probably means Ballengee. Levi Ballengee purchased land in section 21 of T3S, R17W, in about 1834 and built a cabin and then a frame house in which he boarded men employed by Griffith & Co., of St. Joseph, in building a mill on the Paw Paw River. The company failed, and Ballengee then went into the shingle-making business. A thriving little settlement grew up, known as Shingle Diggings. In 1838 the timber supply was exhausted, and Shingle Diggings was abandoned. Ballengee went to Missouri. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 340-41.

²⁴⁸As indicated in footnote 222 above, the history of Abbott's Mills seems to have gone virtually unrecorded. Jesse Smith, a member of the New York firm of Smith and Merrill, was a very large purchaser of land in Berrien County. In 1836 he visited T3S, R17W to make arrangements to have some of this land cleared. He hired laborers to build a mill and purchased another mill that was already in operation in what is now the village of Watervliet. Smith and Merrick laid out the village. If this was first known as Abbott's

The labourers will leave him in a year or two and probably settle themselves in the vicinity. Hence another advantage to adjacent lands in their chance of a speedy settlement. The mills are on Pawpaw River and have a considerable water power. Hence too a great advantage to those lands, I am to look at, in the convenience of cutting their timber at the saw mill. After our snack we rode down here and leaving our horses with Beninger walked say $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the head of Pawpaw Lake, where we found a canoe and paddled $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile over to the point in section 15. The water is very deep and clear and abounds in fish of several varieties[,] viz. bass, mullet, perch, pickerel, &c &c[.] We had for supper to night a bass weighing 10 pounds. The lake is 3 miles long and $\frac{1}{3}$ mile wide in some places 30 fathoms deep, by measurement, and in others is said to be unfathomable. After landing we went up into section 10 and followed the creek & line between 10 & 11 up to the corner of 2 & 3, returning diagonally through 10 back to the head of the lake. The land is sugar timber, with large wild poplar, cherry[,] oak, &c and thick undergrowth. Even and dry. The soil has every appearance of great fertility. The fractional parts of 10 & 11 lying immediately on the lake have been taken. In them the growth of Sugar Maple is very gigantic and the spot has been the resort of the indians from Grand River every spring to make sugar. Many of their wigwams are still standing some with all the implements packed away for the next 'sap'. The trees are deeply wounded & many of them killed by the process of drawing off the juice. A sugar ground is always the sign of good land. The one of which I am speaking has a great advantage from its proximity to the lake which affords a supply of fish & the woods abound with deer. It can be visited in Boats from any port of lake Michg. up the Pawpaw & thence into the Lake through the mouth or strait which connects them. In 21, the head of the Lake approaches within $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile of the river with which [it] may be easily united by a canal affording

Mills, however, the name must have been used only very briefly. Mr. Joe E. Wells, administrative assistant of the Michigan Department of Agriculture, and a lifelong resident of the area, declares that neither he nor any other old-time residents of Coloma or Watervliet with whom he has talked has ever heard of Abbott's Mills. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 341-343; conversation between Joe E. Wells and George S. May, October 12, 1959.

18 feet fall. Deacon commands this "water privilege" by owning a 40 acre lot through which the nearest & easiest route of communication runs. The shores of this Lake will probably be thickly settled. Abbotts Mills will create a villiage around them and to some extent a home market, for produce & lumber. No: 16 a school section has been leased by Deacon for the timber which is floated to the steam mill at St Joseph. Most of it has been cut down. It was covered with very fine pine, a rare timber in this part of the state. D. pointed out to us 3 or 4 acres immediately on the Lake from which he had been selli[ng] pine trees for the manufacture of shingles and had reced. in one year for his share of them about \$350.²⁴⁹ There are several cabins within a stones throw of us on the river, of a very inferior style. That in which we are, is the worst I have yet seen; there is but one room; it is very open & the night is cold. However we have a blazing fire in the capacious hearth and a frank & hospitable reception from the owner who, with his wife[,] is from Monroe Co: Virginia. Over the door is hung a gigantic pair of deer horns and under them swings a polished rifle. Beninger informs me that he is a saddler by trade. He emigrated from Va: to Indiana and thence hither 3 years since. On his arrival he had but \$2 in the world & the 2nd day ague & fever. He worked on his well days with the lumberers on the Lake at the wages of \$1 per day, until he has laid up enough to buy himself a lot. When he finished a house, he was persuaded by his old employer to board some of the labourers, which he did and never received a dollars pay, being thus cheated in the beginni[ng] out of \$275. The produce of 3 hogs brought him in 2 years \$400. He has lately sold his 80 acre lot at \$10 per acre and is about to move farther into the woods.

My feete are nearly frozen and I must stop to thaw them before going to bed. We are now on the frontier of settlement, there being no cabins to the west & north in this part of the State. The N W ¼ of 13 in 17 W. 3 S. Beninger tells me contains Iron ore. This I shall make a strong effort to get.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹Later, in 1837, the inhabitants of Shingle Diggings, wishing to set up a school, took over the remaining timber on section 16, made shingles from it, and from the sale of these shingles built the school. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 341.

²⁵⁰The records do not show that Gordon succeeded in getting this land.

Tuesday Morning. We slept 3 in one bed last night, most uncomfortably, & I awoke with a sore throat a[nd] the rheumatism in my Back. We heard the wolves last night howling around us in the woods. They are a great nuisance to the settler in the destruction of pigs[,] poultry[,] &c. Beninger tells me that there were great numbers here a year since until the neighbours set seriously to work to destroy them by shooting and traps. Not long since he secured a very large one alive and fastening a chain about his neck dragged him to his house where the neighbours children mustered all their dogs, & set them on the poor creature to worry it. Having amused themselves with its sufferings until they were tired, they left the wolf lying on the ground as if dead. About midnight, however he revived, broke his chain and was heard running by one of the cabins with it dangling about his heels. One settler happening to be up ran out and gave chase following him into the deep woods where the wolf finding himself losing ground & impeded by the chain turned round & in turn gave chase to his pursuer who had quickly to betake himself to a tree. In the mean time the other neighbours, having been roused by his cries, came to his rescue and recaptured the furious beast which was forthwith dispatched with a rifle. We had intended going to look at sections 28, 29. 32. 33 in R 16 in Van Buren Co: which have a round lake about 1 mile in circumference in their center, but we are somewhat limited in time and Beninger does not give us a very favourable account of them. He was through them a few months since. We have a large body of land to examine in Van Buren to day[,] viz sections 30. 31. 32. 33. 34[.] 35. 36 and 25 in 3 S. 17 W.²⁵¹ These sections, from all accounts, are of an excellent quality, & covered with a heavy growth of timber. There are some 50 acres cleared about Beningers & his neighbour's on the river & chiefly under cultivation as Gardens. We got a glass of new milk at the next house last night, the occupant of which supports himself chiefly by making shingles. Our horses stood out & had new corn for breakfast. The hour for starting is come. We go back via the Mills and enter the woods through the north corner of section 25 in 3 S of

²⁵¹Gordon presumably means T3S, R16W of Van Buren County. T3S, R17W is in Berrien County.

17 W. and shall direct our course to Keelers²⁵² nearly in a straight line. Our Breakfast derived valuable aid this morning from the cocoa & arrow roots.

Keelers[,] 7 P. M. We have had an insight into the woods to day as well as the mud. After passing Abbotts Mills we ran the line between 24 & 25 in R 17 W. 3 S. until stopt by a small tamarack swamp which we went around & struck the dividing line of 25 & 30, following it down nearly to 31.²⁵³ No[,] 24 & 25 are first rate soil except some 30 or 40 acres lying between them of tamarack swamp. The Growth is white wood, oak, ash, maple &c. No[,] 30 is magnificent Land and the timber, viz, wild poplar[,] walnut[,] hickory[,] oak & Beech[,] gigantic. It has a thick undergrowth of grass on which our horses were glad to make up for the deficiencies of their mornings feed. We walked most of the way with their bridles swung over our arms. In 30 & 31 we followed for some time and [sic] old Indian Trail, which, by the by, are observed generally to run through the best lands as if the route were selected on account of the deep shades of enormous trees. On these sections the Timber is as thick as heavy. The largest trees often touched. No[,] 31 is very similar in its general character to No: 30. Passing through the North West of 31 we entered 32 about mid way down the dividing line and found it to be likewise heavily timbered, level & rich. All of the above sections are watered by a small run which joins Mill Creek in No[,] 26.²⁵⁴ The heavy growth of wood independently of it however indicates the presence of springs. From 32²⁵⁵ we were to have proceeded through the tier of sections back to the town line, East, but Deacon had before examined them and proposed to turn our faces south towards 5. 4. 8. & 9.²⁵⁶ which are vacant & whose character he is not acquainted with. Accordingly we proceeded on by the aid of our pocket compasses directing our course nearly south to strike the St Joseph road near Keelers. Somewhere between 5 and 4 we struck a Tamarack swamp of considerable dimensions which being too long to head we essayed to cross it. It

²⁵²See footnote 220 above.

²⁵³Sections 30 and 31 are in T3S, R16W, the township directly east of T3S, R17W.

²⁵⁴In T3S, R17W.

²⁵⁵In T3S, R16W.

²⁵⁶In T4S, R16W.

proved to be a hazardous undertaking and very tedious. The ground was covered with a thick tuft of grass the rootes of which were so matted together as to afford pretty secure footing to our horses though at every step the foundation trembled for yards around. We soon found it impossible to move forward in a straight line and had to pick our way as it opened before us. After winding about at all points of the compass for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, we were much pleased to discover the tracks of horses, which supposing to be those of some one who had crossed the bog we determined to follow which under the idea of being thus guided across by the best route, but having done so for some time we were much mortified to discover that we had made a circle & were retracing our own steps. We were brought up at the point where we entered the swamp, on the banks of a small run, in crossing which Clem dropt his saddle bags and got them filled with water. Stopping for a few moments to ascertain our departure & diff[.] of lattitude, we took a course due East. For 200 yards we passed through a trembling marsh covered with grass several times as tall as our heads. About mid way we started a Deer. On reaching its edge, we found a creek to be forded. Deacon dismounted and with some misgivings forced Fox, who was very reluctant, to put his fore feet in. He went down almost to the withers & at the same instant his hinder feet sunk through the Bank and thus the poor steed was, as we feared completely and hopelessly mired. The sagacious animal lay perfectly still; had he struggled, he would have sunk out of sight, for we afterwards stuck down branches in trying the Bottom 6 or 7 feet through the quagmire. We stood for a moment in breathless anxiety at a loss what to do and our sympathy for poor Fox was heightened by the cries of a pack of hungry wolves which at the instant commenced howling around us as if already scenting the poor creatures carcass. It was now growing late & cloudy and no time was to be lost whether we saved Fox or made a cabin for the night. Deacon having first unbuckled the girths of the saddle and encouraged his horse by a pat on the neck, seized the reins of the bridle and pulled his head around towards the Bank with all his force, he plunged and struggled and after a series of the most desperate efforts we succeeded in getting him on the Bank again. I would hardly have felt more joy at saving a human being than in thus seeing a fine horse rescued from such a

miserable death. Retracing our steps again by a deer path, we were fortunate in hitting the stream a little lower down where it had a sandy Bottom and the fording was entirely safe. A few minutes brought us upon terra firma in a fine body of Oaks and we quickened our pace to reach the main Road ere night fall. We crossed section nine nearly diagonally. Just before reaching section 16, riding at a rapid pace, Clem & I being ahead we came to another small run which having a sandy bottom, we crossed at a trot, and spurring up our horses we had not proceeded 10 yds before both plunged in a springy place up to the shoulders & Clem & I were thrown over their necks. Clem alighted on his head which stuck in the mud & was nearly struck by the feet of his horse as the frightened creature floundered through. We got both through however with no other damage than a full suit of mud. Passing through 16, in which we started some Deer, we continued on through 15 in which we gained the road once more and in 3 miles farther riding drew up before Keelers. A hard Rain has now set in and though the House is full of guests and we have every prospect of sleeping 3 in one bed, yet how much more comfortable are such quarters than sleeping in the woods without tent, food or fire! Our Route through the woods today was not more than 12 or 14 miles. Sections 10. 11. 25. 13 in Town 3 S. 17 W and 12. 13 in 4 S. 17 W. and 30. 31. 32. 33 in 3 S. 16 W & parts of 8 and 9 in 4 S. 16 W. I shall put in for.²⁵⁷

Bronson[,] 9 P. M. Octr. 19. It rained in torrents last night and snowed at intervals and though we slept double in a thin bed, I thanked my stars, when I saw them about day break through the roof, that we were not lying in the bushes. At ordering our Horses this morning Clem's was discovered to have cut the sinew of his ankle very badly and to be unfit for riding. Upon consultation we determined to leave him (the horse) behind, and to hire another in its stead from Keeler, which we did; but it was so poor a creature that Clem fell behind & has not yet come up. He has stopt I sup-

²⁵⁷On November 24 and 30, 1836, Gordon entered a total of 946 acres in T3S, R17W, including land in sections 2, 11, and 25. On November 24, 25, and 30, 1836, he entered 1,078.80 acres in T4S, R17W, including land in sections 12, 13, 14, and 25. On November 28 and 30, 1836, he entered 3,377.56 acres in T3S, R16W, including land in sections 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36. He entered 320 acres in sections 8 and 9 of T4S, R16W on November 28, 1836. Tract Books for Berrien and Van Buren counties.

pose at Freemans or Fayette.²⁵⁸ From the latter place we came hither by the old road which leads through the Grand Prairie. Having understood that the office opened tomorrow we hurried on and left a note for Clem at Dodges²⁵⁹ explaining our leaving him behind. The above route brought us into Kalamazo Co: in section 19. In 18 we entered Grand Prairie which contains some 3000 acres²⁶⁰ and has a soil in every respect like the other praries we have seen. A large portion is owned by the university. It is all settled by purchasers or squatters, who gain an easy subsistence by cultivating small farms. It is surrounded with good timber. It was too dark when we reached the Prairie to take an accurate survey of it.

My horse was very jaded this afternoon and could not be whipt out of a slow walk. From the time of leaving Keelers it rained and snowed without intermitting and we had a most uncomfortable ride. My feet were like Icicles and could be kept from being frost bitten only by jumping & running along by the side of my horse, who in turn was much relieved thereby. The Old Road is more thickly settled than the new. In Range 12 T. 2. S. by travelling both routes we have seen pretty accurately sections 31. 32. 33. 34. 29. 28. 27. 20. 21. none of which please me so much as the heavy timbered lands we have examined in the last 3 days.²⁶¹ I have not shaved since we left Detroit except under the throat. Received three letters from Emily on my arrival here.

Bronson[,] 20 Octr.[,] 5 P. M. Deacon and I were bed fellows last night, the tavern being too full to admit of sleeping by ones self, a luxury rarely met with in this part of the state. This morning we made a copious note of such Lands I shall apply for. I have down

²⁵⁸See footnotes 211 and 212 above.

²⁵⁹Dodge's tavern at Paw Paw was opened by Daniel O. Dodge in 1834 and became a famous stopping place on the Territorial Road. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 507-8.

²⁶⁰According to the 1880 Kalamazoo County history, a study of a sectional map indicated that the area of Grand Prairie, located in what became Oshtemo Township, was actually only 800 acres. Farmer's map of 1835, however, shows a much larger acreage for this prairie. [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 58; Butler, "Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies," in *Michigan History*, 32:29.

²⁶¹Gordon's companions, Deacon and Biddle, evidently did not share his opinion for they both purchased lands in this township. [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 408.

about 10,000 acres. Had a conversation with Sheldon²⁶² to day from which I am led to believe that it will be possible to make an arrangement by drafts on the east for specie or its equivalent. Clem has not come up, & I am a little uneasy at his delay. Judge Ransom²⁶³ informed me to day, that marl of a pure kind is to be found in large formations in low Bottoms. In some places it exists in very great bodies and at one point near Clinton, from which the water has been drained there are 100 acres constituting a bed of pure lime. Praries he thinks were made and cultivated by the Indians and have, since being abandoned by them, been kept in the present condition of old fields by annual fires. We had venison to day and magnificent cauliflowers, which grow in the natural virgin soil to the size to fill a half bushel. My horse is foundered to day!

Saturday[,] 8 P. M. Octr: 22[,] Bronson[.] Clem arrived yesterday as Deacon and I were driving out of town in a wagon to look more particularly at those unlocated sections about 6 or 8 miles south of this place through which the St Jo: road passes. Leaving our wagon at the 5 mile house which is near the corner of 26 we followed its south line to the corner of 27. & up it to the ½ mile stake where we took a north course and struck the west end of the little Lake laid down in the map.²⁶⁴ The adjacent sections for miles are rolling &

²⁶²Presumably Thomas C. Sheldon, receiver of the land office at Kalamazoo. See footnote 209 above.

²⁶³Epaphroditus Ransom was born in Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts. He served in the Vermont legislature before coming to Michigan in 1834 and settling in what is now Kalamazoo. In 1836 Governor Mason appointed him judge of the second district and associate justice of the state supreme court. Ransom was governor of Michigan from 1848 to 1850, and then served a term in the state house of representatives. He was appointed receiver of the land office in Osage, Kansas, in 1857, where he died in 1859. In view of this distinguished career, it is rather amazing that there is so much disagreement in biographical sketches of Ransom as to the year of his birth. The Ransom family genealogy prepared by Wyllys C. Ransom and published at Ann Arbor in 1903, gives March 24, 1798, as Ransom's birthday. However, writing in the Kalamazoo County history of 1880, Hezekiah G. Wells, a contemporary of Ransom's, says he was born in 1799. S. D. Bingham in 1888 gave February, 1797, as the month in which Ransom was born. Later, in 1926, George N. Fuller declared that Ransom was born in 1796. Information from the Ransom genealogy supplied by Dr. Ethel W. Williams, Kalamazoo; [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 117; [S. D. Bingham], *Early History of Michigan with Biographies of State Officers, Members of Congress, Judges and Legislators*, 542 (Lansing, 1888); George N. Fuller, ed., *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 2:89-90 (Lansing, 1926).

²⁶⁴Gordon apparently was in T2S, R12W, subsequently organized as Osh-

so thinly covered with Timber or trees of any kind that all those which are unlocated could be seen without actually walking over them. The soil is nevertheless very good with patches of Burr Oak openings of best quality. The whole body may be called rolling, thin white oak openings, but the rootes are so thick & matted that a few years will cover them with a heavy growth of forest trees. Making a wide circuit we struck the road in 33. These lands are more immediately in the midst of settlement, yet the want of wood and water are great objections, and give the heavy timbered lands a decided preference over them. There were several inches of snow on the ground, but my object was too important [for] me to mind it. In 27 and 28 we started some 5 or 6 Deer which bounded slowly away and turned at 30 yds. distant to look at us. We dined on the road upon a snack Mrs. Hawley²⁶⁶ had put up for us. At the 5 mile House a well had been just dug 80 feet. The successions of strata were as follows. The first 3 or 4 feet a rich vegetable mould, the next 10 feet an earth composed of lime[,] clay and sand, which I am informed produces abundantly after having been exposed to the air, then came coarse white²⁶⁶ beach pebble alternating with layers of white sand and boulders of sandstone from the size of my fist to that of my head. We shall go to Ionia in a day or two and I shall take a portion of my treasury certificates with me, leaving in the hands of Sheldon, funds to an amount sufficient to pay for all the Lands I take up here. Deacon returned to St Joseph to day. He has a list of the lands to be taken out for me & an order on Sheldon for the funds, in case I should not be back at the opening of the office on the 10th. This morning Clem and I, guided by old Moore,²⁶⁷ walked to Grand Prairie to shoot grouse. We borrowed very good double barrellled shot guns from some young men in town. For the first hour we hunted without success & had dispaired of seeing any game when upon entering the edge of a corn field we put

temo Township. He was actually traveling in a southwesterly direction from Kalamazoo. [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 408.

²⁶⁶Mrs. Emmor Hawley (d. 1884), wife of the keeper of the Kalamazoo House (see footnote 202 above). Henry Bishop, "Memorial Report," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 7:486 (Lansing, 1886).

²⁶⁶This word is not clear in the manuscript. The word might be "thick."

²⁶⁷Because of the scant information supplied by Gordon, it has not been possible to identify "old Moore."

up 50 in a flock which rose up like thunder and lit again within 100 yds. The first three or four shots I only made the feathers fly, but upon increasing the charge I was more fortunate and had the pleasure of bringing down 3 in succession. We followed them up until they took shelter in the woods. On our return we stopt at a tavern and had a bird broiled for dinner, substituting the tongs for a gridiron. The woman refusing any pay I distributed among the children some 5 cent pieces which I got at the mint and which have served to gladden the hearts of many children at the houses we have stopt at. There are some Virginians squatted on Grand Prairie. Having no water, the farmers use wells entirely, which require to be sunk some 80 feet. The land is elevated & has streams running on all sides of it. We shall leave for Ionia on Monday. Our Inn is crowded to suffocation and the sitting room filled with stage drivers & citizen boarders, smoking pipes & playing eucher, the national Game of Michg.

Octr. 23rd[,] 6½ P. M. I rode to Grand Prairie again this morning in pursuit of grouse and saw but two, one of which I killed. My horse has recovered from his stiffness and is again in condition to travel. Clem's is still at Keelers and he will have to hire one in town to go to Grand River. 1/12 of this villiage was sold yesterday for \$12,000 (i. e. of the remaining vacant lots.) The Site was taken up a few years since at \$1¼ per acre and this price would seem like wild speculation.²⁶⁸ The point however is an important one, on the head of boat navigation of the Kekalamazo. It is the land office, central in its position, and the county seat of a very rich & thriving county, where population has some thousand souls added to it annually. If one considers that Michg. has now none or few towns, that its population is pouring in at the rate of 50 thousand a year, that they have been accustomed to and must have their villiages, that the soil is of excellent quality generally, it will be perceived that these town speculations have a real basis of intrinsic value & are not like investment in town plats in old states, where the wants of the people have been supplied in this particular gradually with

²⁶⁸Information about the sale referred to by Gordon could not be found in the published county histories. Horace H. Comstock is reported to have purchased a quarter interest in the village plat in 1837 for \$17,000. [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 390.

their slow growth. Suppose New York without towns & villiages tomorrow, that all are sunk by an earth quake. The wants of the people would soon build them up again with great rapidity—such, on a smaller scale, is the process in town manufacture now going on in Michg. However I shall invest nothing in Lots.

Octr. 24th[,] Monday[,] 5 P. M. Yankey springs[,] 30 miles from Bronson[,] We left Bronson at 7½. Clem on a hired and I on my own horse. The country for 10 miles, until we reached Gull Prarie was oak openings of very good quality. The Prarie contains about 6000 acres of Land[,] 2000 of which are owned by the university. In most respects it is exactly similar to those which we have before seen. Some 300 persons are living on it in farms of 80 acres or thereabouts.²⁶⁹ The land can be bought for about \$10 or \$15 per acre. A settler near the edge at whose house we dined, stated to me that from his own experience he preferred openings to prarie, that the old farmers on the latter think they begin to percieve a slight deterioration of soil by cultivation, whereas in Washtenaw Co: for instance, some parts of which have been settled 12 years the openings have continued to improve with every crop to the present time. Such observations have been likewise made in Kalamazo Co:; which as likewise Berrien & Van Buren Counties have been chiefly taken up by settlers.

Grand River District is understood to have been much infested by speculators. In 3 or 4 years my informant thinks, that all the good land in Berrien & Van Buren Cos: will be worth & sell for readily \$10 per acre. After leaving the Prarie we again passed through oak openings to this place, some very beautifull level and rich, but for the greater part more or less rolling, and holding in its bosom many small clear lakes which were alive with Geese & Ducks. We have had a delicious day. On dismounting here I had the pleasure to meet Major Whiting, to whom I was introduced in

²⁶⁹A more conservative estimate of the area of Gull Prairie is 2,800 acres. Four of the thirteen sections which comprised, in whole or in part, this prairie, were set aside as university lands. Gull Prairie was first settled in 1830 and became one of the county's most important centers in the pioneer period. Travelers going north to the Grand River from Kalamazoo followed the circuitous route of the old Indian trail through Gull Prairie and Yankee Springs to the junction of the Grand and the Thornapple. [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County*, 457, 463-64; Butler, "Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies," in *Michigan History*, 32:31-33.

Detroit, and who is on his way to Grand Rapids to make a payment to the indians north of the Grand River on account of their lands the title to which has lately been extinguished by the Genl. Govrt.²⁷⁰ It is to be a meeting similar to that held last month at Mackinaw and composed of such as could not visit that remote point. He proposed to us to turn aside that far out of our way to witness the spectacle, which we readily agreed to do, as we thereby see Grand Rapids[,] a place reckoned of great importance & shall not lose much leeway. Whiting goes on to Leonards²⁷¹ tonight where we shall overhaul him, at breakfast. He is traveling in an open wagon with the specie which he does not hesitate to mention in the bar room of the tavern. Such is the security from Robbery in Michg.²⁷² We passed no house in the last 20 miles. the reason of which is that the county road has not yet been laid down and Emigrants are not willing to settle themselves on the present which though in good order will be abandoned when the straight & permanent one is opened. This place is called Yankey Springs by a French settler named Moreau,²⁷³ an indian trader who lives near

²⁷⁰Major Henry Whiting (see footnote 147 above) had been at Mackinac Island in September, 1836, to make the payments to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians which were granted them in the Treaty of Washington (see footnote 113 above). The annual payments to the Indians of the Grand River valley were made at Grand Rapids down to 1857. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontier*, 543; Jenks, "Henry Whiting," in *Michigan History*, 16:179; Dwight Goss, *History of Grand Rapids and Its Industries*, 1:54-55 (Chicago, 1906).

²⁷¹Henry Leonard (d. 1863) came to Barry County in 1835 and settled in what became Thornapple Township, some seven or eight miles north of Yankee Springs on the route to Grand Rapids. He maintained a tavern, which was a popular stopping place. [Crisfield Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties, Michigan*, 487-88 (Philadelphia, 1880).

²⁷²The daughter of William Lewis, owner of the Yankee Springs tavern at which Gordon stayed, recalled later that every year the payments for the Indians at Grand Rapids came through Yankee Springs from Detroit. The two men who brought the money always stopped at Yankee Springs overnight. The boxes containing the specie were placed in one of the rooms of the inn, none of which had locks on their doors. Nevertheless, the men slept peacefully, apparently unconcerned at the possibility of being robbed. Mary M. Hoyt, "Early Recollections of Pioneer Life in Michigan and the Founding of Yankee Springs," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:294-95 (Lansing, 1906).

²⁷³Louis or James Moreau (sources differ as to his first name) was a French fur trader who had posts at both Scales' Prairie and Bull's Prairie, a few miles north of Yankee Springs, as early as 1826. He was at Scales' Prairie in 1836 at which time he abandoned his trading business and con-

here, and has given the stand that name out of spite at the loss of custom.²⁷⁴ He likewise keeps an inn. There is a fine spring forming a small lake near the house, which is invaluable as a stable stand. Lewis,²⁷⁵ our Host informs me, that he gave \$10 per acre for 150 acres immediately around him. The house is in very bad condition being not more than half finished. There are no fire places within & we have an enormous pile of wood blazing near the door to thaw our feet and fingers this cold night. Around it are arranged a group of some dozen persons, workmen, land hunters, wagoners &c. Our horses have good stabling. Barry County in which we are, will probably become a great sheep pasture; it is too rolling for cultivation. Whiting has a person named Trowbridge²⁷⁶

verted his post into an inn. The general opinion seems to have been that Moreau's was a poor place to stop at. Charles Weissert, *Southwestern Michigan*, 172-75 (Lansing, 1926); [Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*, 487; W. W. Potter, *History of Barry County*, 10 (Grand Rapids, [1912]).

²⁷⁴Gordon's explanation of the origin of the name Yankee Springs differs from the traditional account. According to this version, which supposedly originated with Mrs. William Lewis, some travelers met by chance in 1835 beside one of the springs, and while they ate their lunches together they discovered that they were all from the New England area. One of the party thereupon cut the words "Yankee Springs" on the trunk of a tree. The name took hold and in 1839 was applied not only to the springs but to the newly organized township in which they were located. Hoyt, "Early Recollections of Pioneer Life," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:290-91; [Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*, 33, 520.

²⁷⁵William Lewis (1802-53) and his family arrived at Yankee Springs on August 26, 1836. His brother, Calvin, had preceded him by several months and had begun construction of a log tavern. William bought out his brother and completed the crude structure. It is possible that Calvin was still connected with the inn when Gordon stopped there, but it was his brother, better known as "Yankee Bill," who built it into one of the most famous pioneer taverns west of Detroit. A native of New York, Lewis called his place the "Mansion House." It eventually consisted of a cluster of nine one-story buildings, all except one being built of logs. It was referred to as a "nine-story building, all on the ground." Although the accommodations were primitive, Yankee Bill was a genial host, and the food he served was excellent, much of it coming from the large garden which was his pride and joy. Most of the prominent public figures of the state stayed at the inn at one time or another, including Lewis Cass and Zachariah Chandler. Railroads and new roads which bypassed Yankee Springs put the famous inn out of business shortly after Lewis' death. Hoyt, "Early Recollections of Pioneer Life," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:289-302; [Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*, 514-15; George H. White, "Yankee Lewis' Famous Hostelry in the Wilderness," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 26:302-7 (Lansing, 1896).

²⁷⁶This is probably Charles Christopher Trowbridge (1800-1883), who was born in Albany, New York, and came to Detroit in 1819. He accompanied Cass on his famous trip around the upper Great Lakes in 1820 and served

with him to assist in paying the Indians, & drive his wagon for him. A drunken Irish Taylor is making a most disagreeable growling while I write & talking at Clem & me whom he takes for speculators, a race particularly odious to emigrants, and justly so, for no sooner has a settler established himself than all the lots around him are taken up by these persons who when he desires to enlarge his farm charge him 3 or 4 prices. It is very cold. I met here an old Gentleman named ———²⁷⁷ from some part of the state of New York whom I saw in Bronson and who tells me he has been waiting here several days for the arrival of Monroe, a Land hunter²⁷⁸ who is to guide him in his explorations in Barry Co: He has already, he informs me, selected about 7000 acres about Bronson and intends applying for about as much more. I must go out and help him to build up our log fire.

Robinson's[.] 2 P. M. Octr. 25[,] 30 miles from Yankey Springs. We are at the junction of Grand River and the Thorn apple near an indian villiage,²⁷⁹ the inhabitants of which, however, are absent at Grand Rapids to receive their pay. There are but few houses in it & those small and dingy, shaped like an inverted funnel. Every tribe varies the style of their wigwam architecture. These resemble tents. They are made by sticking poles in a circle & drawing them together near the top leaving open a small orifice for the smoke to escape. They are covered with bark so closely as to turn the water. There is some fine bottom lands immediately about us. Such sites are usually selected for villages²⁸⁰ as their rude agriculture is thus

under Cass in various capacities thereafter. He was entrusted with a number of missions to the Indians during the 1820's. From 1825 to 1836 he was cashier of the Bank of Michigan, and was president in 1839. In 1834, in association with Boston capitalists, he laid out the village of Allegan, and engaged in similar real estate promotions in later years. In addition to his business activities, he served as mayor of Detroit in 1834 and was the Whig candidate for governor in 1837. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 2:1034-35; [Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*, 148.

²⁷⁷Left blank in the manuscript.

²⁷⁸The editors have been unable to identify Monroe.

²⁷⁹A small Ottawa Indian village was located at the junction of the Thorn-apple with the Grand River, a site subsequently occupied by the village of Ada. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids and Its Industries*, 1:50; Franklin Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 173 (Chicago, 1878).

²⁸⁰Gordon, who consistently spelled village "village," here crossed out the extra "i;" and corrected his spelling in several subsequent uses of the word before reverting to his earlier misspelling.

more conveniently carried on. The se[c]tions which embrace the mouth of the Thorn apple, the village and all the fine open land around containing say 1000 acres, have been squatted on by Robinson & his kin, the eldest brother having married a squaw and thus gained the confidence of the poor savages, whose possessions he is already grasping at before they have relinquished them.²⁸¹ He lives usually, at the house we are stopping to dine at, but is absent just now at the Grand Rapids to collect his debts from the Indians where they are paid off. His wife and children are with him. Last night we slept in the loft with some 20 persons, land agents, speculators, foot and horse passengers, labourers, carpenters, &c &c[.] Clem and I monopolized one bed. We had clean sheets and I slept very well except being awaked by a cat, about midnight walking over my face. We started this morning at 6 and reached Leonards at 8 to Breakfast a few minutes after Major Whiting had left. Leonard gave us a good meal which our ride and his very pretty daughter who waited on us, made us relish vastly. I have several times had occasion to remark upon the beauty of the Michg. Girls. indeed we have scarcely seen a single young face which can fairly be called homely since leaving Detroit. Our route to day lay through Oak openings of a very good quality with a few rugged points at intervals. Indeed, you hardly see any other kind of tree to any extent, and in a ride of 2 or 3 hundred miles it finally becomes

²⁸¹Rix Robinson (1792-1875) is one of the giants of the pioneer period of Michigan history. A full-scale biography of him is much needed since existing accounts of his life often contradict each other on important details. A native of Massachusetts, Robinson came west in 1814 and became an Indian trader. In 1821 he came to the Grand River valley as an agent of the American Fur Company. He maintained several posts with his headquarters at the site of the village of Ada, at the junction of the Thornapple River with the Grand. He retired from the fur trade in 1837 and settled down permanently at Ada. He had two Indian wives, although when and how the first marriage ended and he married his second wife is uncertain. He had immense influence among the Indians and played a key role in negotiating the treaty of 1836. In 1835 he brought out his six brothers and their families and settled them at strategic points along the Grand River. He held numerous political offices and reportedly was offered the Democratic nomination for governor in the 1850's, but declined to accept out of consideration for his wife who could not fit into the role of a governor's wife. George H. White, "Sketch of the Life of Hon. Rix Robinson: A Pioneer of Western Michigan," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:186-200 (Lansing, 1888); Mary F. Robinson, "Rix Robinson, Fur Trader," in *Michigan History*, 6:277-87 (1922); Douglas Dunham, "Rix Robinson and the Indian Land Cession of 1836," in *Michigan History*, 36:374-88 (December, 1952).

wearisome to the eye. There was one house between Lewis' and Leonards, none from the latter place here. The road was very good, and made at little expense through openings. We have forded the Thorn apple thrice to day[,] viz at the distances of 1. 3 and 20 miles from Leonard's. The stream is beautifully clear and, rapid. We came up to Major Whiting 4 miles back. In fording the Thorn apple the last time our horses nearly swam. Clem got very wet and I lost my whip. Moreau, the French indian trader, (who was of Whitings party and had rode ahead to prepare the boat for him) stood on the bank of the stream and directed us the shallowest way else we had got beyond our depth. We learn here that the Ottawas have been waiting a month, encamped opposite Grand Rapids, in daily expectation of the arrival of the Govt. agent. The poor creatures have no other divisions of time beyond seasons, viz. the time of planting, corn eati[ng], Roasti[ng] ears,²⁸² gathering it ripe, and snow & Ice. so they are often a month out in their calculation. The number of white families in Barry County is about 100.²⁸³ and much good land remains unlocated in it. We are now in Kent County[,] 10 miles from the Rapids. This house is at present kept by one of Robinsons brothers.²⁸⁴

Grand Rapids[,] Octr 25. 7 P. M. 40 miles from Lewis' At Hinsdales Boarding House (Miriam)²⁸⁵ We got in last night after dark and upon much solicitation were squeezed in here. A bed has been rigged up for us in the store. From Robinsons hither we passed

²⁸²This word is not clear in the manuscript.

²⁸³The population of Barry County in 1837 was 512.

²⁸⁴Edward Robinson, a brother of Rix, settled at Ada near his brother's post, around 1836. John Ball stopped at Edward's house early in 1837. *Autobiography of John Ball*, 145.

²⁸⁵Gordon obviously is referring here to the inn operated by Myron Hinsdill (d. 1838) who came to Michigan from Vermont in 1833 and first settled at Gull Prairie. His cousin, Hiram Hinsdill, came to Grand Rapids in 1835. Myron came to Grand Rapids in the spring of 1836 and purchased from his cousin a building which he shortly opened as a hotel. It stood at the corner of Monroe and Ionia. In the winter of 1836-37 Myron wrote to a relative, "We have had from eight to ten boarders all winter, on the temperance plan in full, and have most of the good custom. . . . I have had more silver and gold in my house this winter than a pair of horses could draw." After Hinsdill's death his hotel was renamed the National. Subsequently, in the 1870's, the Morton House, the predecessor of the present-day Grand Rapids hotel of that name, was built on this site. Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 103-4, 560; Mrs. S. L. Withey, "Personal Recollections and Incidents of the Early Days of Richland and Grand Rapids," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 5:435-36 (Lansing, 1884).

through oak openings of very good quality, all of which have been taken up, being highly valued on account of their proximity to Grand Rapids, which, every one thinks, will become a very important point. All the Lands near the Grand River are entered from its mouth to its source on the south side. Those which lie north are in possession of the Indians whose title was extinguished at the last session of Congress. The territory thus acquired embraces some 8000.000 acres extending north to Mackinaw, most of which is thought to be of a very inferior quality, though very little is known of its true character. It has been explored hitherto only by the Indians who range through every corner and section of it in their hunting expeditions. Major Whiting and Trowbridge called this morning after breakfast to accompany us over the river to witness the payment of money and distribution of goods to the Indians. We crossed the rapids in a Keel boat at a point where they are 250 yds. wide and 4 or 5 feet deep. The land immediately opposite the village on which we were put ashore is a high level bluff extending for miles up and down the stream and back 4 or 5 hundred yds. to the Forest. A little to the south is an indian villiage containing 200 or 300 inhabitants, who chiefly constitute the flock of Mr. Slater, the Baptist missionary.²⁸⁶ He has been living near them in a cabin

²⁸⁶Leonard Slater (1802-66) was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, and appointed missionary to the western Indians by the Baptist Triennial Convention of 1826. He and his wife came out to Michigan, first to the Carey Mission at what is now Niles, and then in 1827 to the Thomas Mission at Grand Rapids which the Rev. Isaac McCoy of the Carey Mission had begun a few years earlier. Here Slater labored until the winter of 1836-37 among the several hundred Indian families who lived in the area of the mission. He mastered the Ottawa language, and in addition to his religious duties he and his associates conducted a school and instructed the Indians in the agricultural arts, in accordance with the instructions of Governor Cass at the time the missions at Niles and Grand Rapids had been authorized. Slater also was postmaster at Grand Rapids from 1832 to 1836. His children were probably the first white children born of American parents in the Grand River Valley. With the coming of white settlers, however, Slater found it increasingly difficult to control his Indian converts. In the winter of 1836-37, therefore, he led about 300 Indians to a new mission site at Prairieville in Barry County. In the 1850's this mission was broken up, and Slater spent his remaining years in various religious, business, and charitable enterprises. Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 51-52; Everett, *Memorials of the Grand Raiver Valley*, 298-302; Charles A. Weissert, "The Indians of Barry County and the Work of Leonard Slater, the Missionary," in *Michigan History*, 16:321-33 (Summer, 1932); Mary M. Lewis Hoyt, "Life of Leonard Slater, Pioneer Preacher and Missionary," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 35:142-55 (Lansing, 1907).

some 10 years and during a greater part of this period had communication with no whites but the inhabitants of Detroit and with them by means of pack horses through the woods by Indian Trails once or twice a year to procure necessities of life at periods of scarcity. His wife continued with him all this time. They have several children. He has learnt to speak the Indian dialect and preaches to them every Sunday. Many of the old men, he informs me are communicants, have been baptized and have good ideas of Religion. Slater is a very modest man and of a weakly nervous constitution, yet he has evinced the courage of a lion in thus planting himself, in the midst of savages, hundreds of miles from thick white settlement, without understanding their language and undertaking to teach them a new religion and reclaim them from their Barbarous life. To a great extent the villiage[s] have turned themselves to agriculture, being supplied, latterly, with implements by the whites. The high level bluff above described seems once to have been entirely under cultivation. I noticed much marl in the soil, so that, by a kick of the foote it could be turned up at any spot. Along the bank of the river for some distance up were arranged the tents of the indians & temporary wigwams of all who had come from a distance to receive their shares in the general distribution. Some were from the mouth of Grand River, the Thorn apple, Flat River, the maple, the looking glass, near St. Joseph[,] &c &c all arriving finally by canoes through the Grand River. We first directed our course to the house of Mr: Slater, (which is a good log cabin,) and were conducted by him to the meeting house in which were all the goods arranged in bundles for distribution. None of the Indians having assembled on the spot, Major Whiting dispatched a crier to give notice that he should begin the division in two hours. In the mean time Trowbridge[,] Clem and I strolled up the banks to examine the camping ground more minutely. There were some 200 temporary huts, tents, wigwams &c arranged in groups of 4 or 5 near the edge of the water, with their beautifully finished canoes drawn upon the sand. Some were crossing at the moment with squaws who used the paddle as dextrously as a ducks foote and passed over the rapid parts of the current as easily as two strong men could pull us through the stiller water below. Others were crossing the shallows on their little ponies riding double & triple. We peeped

in the wigwams to see what was going on. The inmates were generally squatted around their half extinguished fires, eating their breakfast of pumpkin²⁸⁷ or hominy, boiled. Some were arranging themselves in their gayest attire for the occasion. Several we saw already decked out in all their finery, high crowned hats with cockades & feathers, cloth hunting shirts, rings in their ears & noses, in some instances a chain of them hanging from the forehead down over each eye to the cheek bone, silver bracelets from the wrists to the shoulders & the ankles to the thighs, blue tights, mock-asins, much trimmed & ornament[ed] with beads & porcupine needles, a belt around the waist. Their faces painted as if for war. Such as were in mourning for a relative had their features marked with black streaks. The proportion of children seemed great. These latter were playing with bows & arrows and some drew back in sport & pointed them at us when we approached their tents. Near one group of wigwams I observed a long pole planted in the ground with a dead puppy tied to the top, which is perhaps a religious ceremony. Trowbridge seemed to think it was perhaps intended for food as the Indians are notoriously fond of the flesh of this faithfull animal. T. has seen much of this Tribe, having assisted in paying them for many years. He informs me that they eat all kinds of unclean animals, which they boil in one common pot; often when making maple sugar they will throw a dog into the caleldron [*sic*] and cook their food day after day, thus mingling the two operations. He was once in the woods, he tells me, for a day or two without food and came by chance to an Indian camp. Their dinner was boiling at the time in one pot. It consisted of a puppy, a polecat & muskrat. Being half famished he made a hearty meal of this revolting Salmagundi. Many of the Indians knew him & shook his hand with much cordiality. At passing they would salute us with their 'Bon jour' a term picked up by them from the French Trader. About one mile up we came upon the frame house of *Robinson*, the Indian Trader, which is his store. He was selling tobacco and other articles to some dozen Indians. I have already made some mention of this personage. He is a man cast in the

²⁸⁷This word is not clear in the manuscript. Gordon may have had in mind the word "pompon" which is an old word for the pumpkin.

mould of a Giant: well framed, active & erect as a hunter, about 50 years of age. For some 30 years he has been an agent of the North Western Fur Company²⁸⁸ for the purchase of peltry. During this time he has been stationed at various points remote from the frontier of white population an[d] in the bosom of the Indians over whom he has obtained and exercises great influence. He has taken a squaw to wife, a thing absolutely necessary in his mode of life if one wishes to be married, for a white woman could not exist under the privations of a rude wigwam in a winter of great rigour. He speaks the dialect of the Ottawas, fluently. Near his store was his tent, in which he sleeps, and about it 4 or 5 of his half breed children.²⁸⁹ His woman was young and very pretty, dressed in the aboriginal style with a half dozen yards of fine blue cloth thrown gracefully over her shoulders. Indeed the squaws give even to blankets, some times, the ease & grace of drapery on a statue, holding it on their shoulders with a lightness & security which a white woman might in vain seek to imitate. Robinson has squatted on an 80 acre lot opposite the Grand Rapids under the expectation of securing it at Govt. price by means of a future preemption Law. The water power which it commands will, with its adaptation to the site of a town, make it very valuable. I am informed that if put up at public sale the 80 acres would bring \$1000 or \$1.500 per acre. He has planted a brother (of whom he has six) at all the best points from the mouth to the sources of the Grand river, with the view of getting the title by occupancy. One is at the mouth of Grand River, one of the best Harbours on Lake Michg., another is at the mouth of the Thorn apple a good point for transhipment, a third at the junction of the flat & Grand, a fourth, I believe, at Maple River &c. all of which are tributaries of the Grand and will become towns or places of transhipment.²⁹⁰ Independently of these pros-

²⁸⁸Actually, Robinson had been associated for about two decades not with the old Canadian firm, the North West Company, but with the American Fur Company.

²⁸⁹Accounts of Robinson's life credit him with only one child, a son by his first wife, and none by his second wife.

²⁹⁰Rix Robinson himself was one of the founders of Grand Haven at the mouth of the Grand River where he had maintained a trading post for many years before receiving a patent for lands there in 1833. When the numerous Robinson clan migrated to the Grand River Valley in 1835, Robinson's brothers, John and Ira, settled a few miles upriver from Grand Haven in

pects the Elder Robinson is said to have accumulated a fortune of about \$100,000 by traffic with the Indians.²⁰¹

At our return to the meeting house we found most of the Indians assembled and the distribution of good[s] begun. Mr Slater acted as crier, holding in his hands a list he called each one by name in his turn and handed him his share tied up in a blanket. It contained broad cloth, calico, cotton, thread, needles, yarn[,] soap, fish hooks, cooking utensils, such as one bell metal boiler, tea pot, tin pans[,] &c and a few tools and agricultural implements, a coarse shot gun to the men & a \$10 rifle to the Chiefs. The savages were arranged around the house in family groups[,] some reclini[ng] on the Ground, some leaning motionless against the fence[,] others were seated on benches. The children of the Chiefs were distinguished by more silver rings & bracelets & a better style of dress than the lower class. The majority present presented a miserable and squalid appearance, with few clothes except a blanket and in some cases without mock-asins. I noticed one old woman who had nothing on but a small thin blanket worn to shreds & patches. Some of the girls, however, were very pretty[,] all had delicate & well formed feet, which their tight trousers and ornamented buskins shewed off to much advantage. Of the Chiefs there were some noble looking men. He whose appearance struck me most was named Shiawas, from the mouth of Grand River.²⁰² For several years he has been a victim to Rheu-

Robinson Township. Edward settled at the mouth of the Thornapple at Ada, while brothers Lewis, Lucas, and Rodney, and another relative, Philander Tracy, settled at the site of Lowell, at the junction of the Flat and Grand rivers. The Robinson family does not appear to have participated in 1836 in the settlement of the area at the junction of the Maple River with the Grand. Leo C. Lillie, *Historic Grand Haven and Ottawa County*, 124-36, 150-51 (Grand Haven, 1931); Everett, *Memorial of the Grand River Valley*, 210-11 and 494; *History of Kent County, Michigan*, 1183-85 (Chicago, 1881).

²⁰¹It is difficult to say how great a fortune Rix Robinson acquired as a result of the Indian trade. However, under the treaty of 1836 he was awarded \$22,989.39 to settle his claims for trade with the Grand River Indians for the period 1816-34, and \$5,656.74 as the agent of the American Fur Company from 1834 to 1836. He also received \$23,040 "in lieu of a section of land granted to his Indian family, on Grand river rapids." Dunham, "Rix Robinson and the Indian Land Cession," in *Michigan History*, 36:384-86.

²⁰²The phonetic spelling of Indian names always causes problems, since there are such great differences in the spellings of each name. Among the Grand River chiefs listed in the treaty of 1836 the name which seems closest to Gordon's Shiawas is Keeshaowash, who was grouped in the second class of chiefs who received \$200. Shiawasse is listed in some accounts as chief of a band of Ottawas on Crockery Creek, near the mouth of the Grand River.

matism, which has chained his Herculean frame to the ground. He lay on the grass all the time, and his limbs which were cast in the strongest mould rested in the most graceful repose. His features which were strongly marked, played as if a little volcano might be slumbering under them. In height, I should suppose him to be six feet one inch. I was informed that he was a great Hunter and warrior and was at the massacre of the River Raisin. Around him were arranged his family. His wife was decently clad and possessed a very matronly air. She fed him during the day with boiled hominy and pumpkin from a large Gourd with a wooden spoon. Her daughter about 14 years of age was quite a beauty as she sat combing back her long black hair which was exactly parted in front. The heads of the children struck me with surprise. Little things a year or two old swung behind their mothers back in a kind of napsack, were peering out at you with a long head of hair hanging down, as black, thick & coarse as a horses tail. A very pretty squaw was pointed out to me, by Trowbridge, who had been the wife [of] a trader or merchant in Grand Rapids, and lived in a comfortable house like a white lady. Upon her husbands death 2 years since she broke up house keeping & returned to her friends & tribe in the woods; and now dresses like them. The next finest looking man to Shiawas, was Win-de-go-wish,²⁹³ about my height and size, a beautiful figure and a hundred times more elastic. He was about 50 years of age. The orator of the Tribe and noted among them for his singular modesty & diffidence. He had lost a finger. Next was Muc-cut-o-quit,²⁹⁴ a little inclined to corpulancy and very unab-

When the government forbade the Indians to make their annual pilgrimage to receive presents from the English posts in Canada, Shiawasse is supposed to have angrily led his tribe to Canada where it remained. Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Senate Document 319, volume 2, 455 (58 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, 1904) (hereinafter cited as Kappler, *Indian Affairs*); Lillie, *History of Grand Haven*, 97; William M. Ferry, "Ottawa's Old Settlers," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:577-78.

²⁹³Gordon probably refers to Windecowiss, a chief of the second class who received a payment of \$200. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:455.

²⁹⁴Mukutay Oquot or Black Cloud, listed as a chief of the first class, received a payment of \$500. According to one account he had been chief of the Grand River Indians until the close of the War of 1812 when he became head of the Maple River clan. He came to Grand Rapids for the annual payment for the last time in 1846, at which time he was "a poor, pitiable object, without the least gleaming of intellect, and was carried back to die." *Pioneers*

original in his figure, but possessing withal a countenance most strikingly benevolent. I was so much impressed with this characteristic expression of his face as to be induced to enquire particularly into his character. Trowbridge, who has known him for many years, informed me that he was noted for this trait among his tribe, by whom he is revered as the best man among them. He suspects him to be the son of a white man, probably some French Trader. During the morning I had occasion to see his kindness of feeling developed. A poor blind Indian was called up to receive his share of goods and stumbled forward without support amid the shouts & laughter of the whole assemblage (for the Indians are fond of a coarse joke)[.] Some were preparing to play tricks upon him, when Muc-cut-o-quit stepped forward silenc[ng] all around by a look, assisted him with his bundle and led him out of the crowd in the most considerate & benevolent manner. I must not omit the name of his Turkish Cob-e-moo-sah,²⁹⁵ a sharp featured keen eyed chief of moderate stature and exact proportions[.] He is notorious for the number of his squaws. He has three young wives, sisters whom he espoused on the same day, and who have presented the uxorious hunter with three young warriors apiece. "Thrice to me and thrice to mine and thrice to thee to make it nine."²⁹⁶ He has had other wives now dead, whom he probably removed by the sinister influence of arsenic or some other favourite drug to make room in his wigwam for the "sisters three"[.] Old Kib-e-aw-bose with his red face blacked in mourning (not in grief, for he was as happy

in the Maple River Valley were said to remember him "as one of God's noblemen." Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:455; *History of Kent County*, 158; Everett, *Memorial of the Grand River Valley*, 279.

²⁹⁵In the treaty of 1836 this chief appears as Cawpemossay or the Walker and was one of the group of first class chiefs who received a payment of \$500. Cobmoosa, as his name is most commonly spelled, is one of the most famous Indian figures in the history of the Grand River Valley. Six is the usual number of wives with which he is credited as having had. Aside from this he is described as a proud man who was a chief of the Flat River Ottawas and was distinguished by his "majestic mien and his eloquence." The last time Franklin Everett saw him, however, he "had so far humbled his Indian pride as to wear a white man's coat, and he walked the streets of Grand Rapids as an old man does, whom death has neglected." One source says he died at Eldridge in 1865, while another, probably more reliable, says he died in 1872 at Pentwater. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:455; Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 280-81; *History of Kent County*, 152; Lowell, *100 Years of History, 1831-1931*, 21-23 (Lowell, [1931]).

²⁹⁶The editors have been unable to find the source of this quotation.

as a Lord) with his coarse, smutty jokes, on each one as his name was called, came in for a share of our notice. The Indians generally appeared to be much amused with the ceremony of distribution and often shouted with laughter at the fescennine wit of the aforesaid maudlin Chief. He came up to Trowbridge during the mornings walk and shook him by the hand with a hearty grasp, exclaiming "me Cheap (chief) very happy. see great deal money. \$500 dollar. me Great Cheap."²⁹⁷

I derived much amusement from examining the costume and features of the various chiefs and their families. There was a great and very obvious variety of feature. generally stampd with the strong traces of Character. The wonderfull elasticity of their frames struck me forcibly. The oldest men squatting themselves on the ground would spring to their feet with the bound of a boy. The women were made to perform the offices of pack horses in carrying off on their shoulders their husbands bundles. We dined in Mr. Slater's Cabin which is situated immediately opposite the Grand Rapids. The spot which he has thus taken possession off [sic] has been reserved to the Baptist mission by a clause in an act at the last session of Congress, which is so worded (doubtless by design) as to give the society the proceeds of the sale of the two adjoining 80 acre lots, & the improvements thereon, which probably will command a price equal to the sum of \$200,000. These lots are reserved to them in the Indian Treaty.²⁹⁸

Thursday[,] Octr: 27[.] The site of the Grand Rapids was located as long back as seven years by several settlers in small lots and has lately passed through several hands. Lyon²⁹⁹ obtained a

²⁹⁷From what Gordon has to say, Kib-e-aw-bose must have been one of the chiefs of the first class who received \$500. However, from an examination of the chiefs listed in the treaty of 1836, the only name that is at all close in sound to Gordon's Kib-e-aw-bose is Cawpemossay. The latter, however, obviously is the same man as Cob-e-moo-sah, whom Gordon describes earlier.

²⁹⁸The so-called "mission reserve" at Grand Rapids comprised 160 acres. Both the Baptist and Catholic missions were located on this land. The disposal of this reserve was a source of considerable controversy. Eventually an agreement was reached whereby a group of Grand Rapids capitalists bought the property for \$20,000 with the Baptists receiving \$12,000 of this amount, and the Catholics \$8,000. The Catholics invested their portion of the sale in other Grand Rapids lots, one of which they shortly sold for \$56,000. *History of Kent County*, 180-82.

²⁹⁹Lucius Lyon (1800-51) was born in Vermont and came to Michigan in 1821. Shortly he was engaged in surveying public lands in Michigan and

part of the water power from an old French Trader. He sold $\frac{1}{2}$ or a smaller share of his interest to Sargeant, a shoe maker in Detroit, for \$6000. Sargeant sold out last spring to Judge Caroll of New York for \$80,000. Thus do town sites change hands.³⁰⁰ S. however had laid out \$30,000 in improvements for milling, before his sale to Caroll. Villiage lots are now selling at from \$500 to \$5000, but its rapid settlement has been somewhat retarded by the circumstance that nearly the whole of Kent County has been taken by speculators who hold up their Lands at from \$5 to \$10 per acre and thus throw back or divert the stream of migration;³⁰¹ and on the north side of Grand River about 300 settlers have squatted in consequence thereof. Some of them have gone so far in improvements as to put up mills. They are said to keep a land office of their own in which each squatters name & section or lot are entered as an evidence of title when Congress passes another pre-emption Law, and all persons coming among them are required to join the association. They have caused surveyors of their own to extend the lines across the

elsewhere in the Old Northwest. Through this means he acquired an intimate knowledge of land values which served him well in the real estate promotions in which he became involved in Illinois and Wisconsin as well as in Michigan. In politics he was a Democrat and in 1833 was elected territorial delegate to Congress. From 1837 to 1839 he served as one of Michigan's first two United States Senators and was a representative in Congress from 1843 to 1845. In the latter year he was appointed Surveyor General of Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, a position he held until 1850. *Michigan Biographies*, 2:43; George W. Thayer, "Life of Senator Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:404-12 (Lansing, 1897); George H. White, "A Sketch of Lucius Lyon, One of the First Senators from Michigan," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 13:325-33 (Lansing, 1889).

³⁰⁰In 1831, Louis Campau, a French fur trader who had had a post at Grand Rapids since 1826, entered at the land office in White Pigeon a 72-acre tract comprising the heart of present-day Grand Rapids. Lucius Lyon, who had surveyed the area and had hoped to purchase this same property, in 1832 bought the north half of it from Campau. While Louis Campau and his brother, Toussaint, were promoting the development of the southern half of this tract as the village of Grand Rapids, Lyon, in association at various times with Nathaniel O. Sargeant and Judge Charles H. Carroll, was promoting the development of his northern half as the village of Kent. William J. Eiten, comp. and ed., *A Citizens' History of Grand Rapids, Michigan, with program of the Campau Centennial, September 23 to 26, 1926*, 14-15, 50-52 ([Grand Rapids], 1926); Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 19 and 48; *History of Kent County*, 824-25.

³⁰¹The best example of the spectacular rise in land prices at Grand Rapids is found in the fact that in 1831 Louis Campau bought his 72-acre tract for \$90 and by 1836 lots in that tract were selling for as much as \$50 per foot front. Eiten, *A Citizens' History of Grand Rapids*, 14-15; *Autobiography of John Ball*, 145.

river of the old survey, so that each man makes a description of his location as exact as those kept at Govt. Land offices. They doubtless, by this early preparation and close combination, have ulterior views of enforcing Lynch law in case it becomes necessary thus to assert their claims. The Lands on & near Grand River, which they have thus monopolised, are said to be of a very superior quality and, if put up regularly at Public sale, would bring from \$5 to \$50 and at some points \$1000 per acre.³⁰² This Point is the County seat and if we consider the navigation and the water power, is destined probably to become a second Rochester, or a Greater than she. The fall is some 20 feet produced by a stratum of limestone crossing the river at this point. The Rapids are shallow & Steam Boats will be compelled to pass around them by locks & a canal. The difference between the real and nominal value of water power in slave and free states is very striking. In New York the value attached to locations near them is very great and in Michg. he who has a good "water privilege" on his location, is considered as having already made his fortune. If it is extensive, the first mill put up becomes a nucleus for the villiage or town and they are more thriving & numerous in the free than slave states, owing partly to the greater wealth and love of congregating in the former. The water fall is the Yankeys slave. It is taught, by his ingenuity, to work every

³⁰²Preemption legislation was at this time the most controversial issue relating to public lands. A preemption law passed in 1830 enabled squatters who had settled on public lands in 1829 and cultivated some part of the land to enter up to 160 acres at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre. This temporary measure was renewed in 1832 and 1834. A new act in 1838 revived the 1830 law but sought to eliminate fraudulent practices by requiring an oath that the settler had entered the land "in his own right, and exclusively for his own use and benefit." Finally in 1841 a permanent preemption act was enacted which remained in force for a half century. To protect their rights, squatters formed themselves into clubs or associations which sought to force others to recognize the claims of their members to land when these lands were formally opened for sale. References to such claims associations are frequently found in histories of Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, and other Midwest states, but not in Michigan. John Ball declared that when the lands north of the Grand River were officially surveyed some difficulties arose because the lines cut through squatters' property in some cases. In 1839 when the lands were opened to sale the squatters went in a body to Ionia with clubs to fight off the speculators who might try to enter their lands. Some of these squatters were forced to borrow money at 100 per cent interest to buy their lands. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage*, 50, 64, 76, 85-88; Benj. F. Shambaugh, "Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, 1:69-84 (Washington, 1901); Buley, *The Old Northwest*, 2:152-53; Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 28-33.

machine from the simplest to the most complicated and, unlike the negro slave, is untiring & unceasing in its labour. Caroll is putting up a large flour mill at the north end of the villiage which is to be 160 by 60 feet and commands by the canal which is already finished 12½ ft. and that in any quantity to the extent of the whole river. By extending their race 1 mile they have 25 feet fall and the profit of a canal besides. The cost of the above mile is estimated at \$80.000. A Steam Boat will run up to the rapids from the mouth of the River next spring and possibly as far as Ionia. There are 200 or 300 houses here, built within 2 years and say 1000 or 1500 inhabitants.³⁰³ Trowbridge wishes to make an investment in town lots here and will inform me if any favourable chances offer. We again spent the day on the other side of the river with the Indians. They number about 1000. Clem and I assisted Major Whiting in Counting the money which was paid them. in all about \$8.000, which with the amount paid out at Mackinaw and the value of the presents, makes perhaps the sum of \$75.000; this is all they receive for the remainder of their Michg. Lands, in extent say 8.000.000! The lots on Grand River alone would bring thrice, nay ten times that price. The Chiefs received \$500 and \$250 according to rank, as of the first or second degree. The men and women from \$2.50 to \$50 according to the number of persons in their families.³⁰⁴ By

³⁰³The first issue of the *Grand River Times*, dated April 18, 1837, contained an oft-quoted article describing Grand Rapids as the future "Rochester of Michigan." At that date the village had a population of 1,200. The foundations of what became known as the "Big Mill" were laid in 1836 and the superstructure erected in 1837. The mill, which was 160 feet long by 40 feet wide, was begun by Lucius Lyon and Nathaniel O. Sargeant. The latter sold out to Judge Charles H. Carroll and others in 1836. The same men also began construction of the east side canal and locks around the rapids in 1835. Work on the canal, which was nearly a mile long, 80 feet wide at the water line, and some five feet deep, was completed in 1842. Subsequently, appropriations were made by the state for additional improvements that were needed to complete the chain of navigation from Grand Haven to Lyons, but this work was never finished. Beginning in 1837, however, regular steamboat service on the Grand was begun. The *Governor Mason*, the first steamer, was built at Grand Rapids and made its first run downriver on July 4, 1837. Later that same year during a period of highwater it ran up the Grand to Lyons. It was wrecked near the entrance to Muskegon harbor in 1840. The coming of the railroads in the late 1850's brought about a drastic reduction in the river trade. Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 69, 424, 516-18.

³⁰⁴Although the government undoubtedly obtained the Indian lands at a bargain, the payments provided for in the treaty of 1836 were far more

the terms of the Treaty they are to occupy a slip of land on Lake Michg. some 60 miles long north of the mouth of Grand River for 5 years and then to incorporate with the inhabitants of the state or be removed beyond the Miss:³⁰⁶ Slater has prevailed on his immediate flock to remove to the Kalamazo River on which he proposes to purchase them a few acres of public Land at Govrt. price! and fix them at agriculture.³⁰⁶ In a few days, he tells me that most of those who are now paid a few silver dollars will have spent or been cheated out of all in a drunken debauch which always follows a payment and from which they have been kept only by the joint resolution of the town to sell no liquors until the payment is over. Every thing they now receive, will then be bartered at the tipling shops for drink, and in another week, they will be stript of their lands and the price of them. He informs me, however, that the overwhelming tide of emigration is fast gaining on them and passing over their heads & the rigours of a few more winters upon constitutions shattered by drunkenness will leave but few miserable survivors victims & a living reproach to the gross injustice, and revolting, mercenary, swindling treatment of the Genrl. Govrt. There will then be no further expense in removing the remnant of the Ottawas beyond the Miss. By the by, they hold this "terra incognita," in as much dread as the little negroes do the threat of being sold to Georgia. There was an Indian about St Joseph, nicknamed Capt. Jack. The Boys, to plague him, would say, "Take care Capt. Jack our Great Father at Washington will send you beyond the Mississippi if you don't behave yourself" This always made him very

generous than Gordon's estimate would indicate. Also, the chiefs were grouped into three classes. Chiefs of the first class received \$500, those of the second class \$200, and those of the third class \$100. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:451-56.

³⁰⁵The terms of the treaty reserved several tracts of land to the Indians for their use for a period of five years, unless the government gave them permission to stay on for a longer period. Among the reservations which were laid out one was on the Manistee River about a hundred miles north of the Grand River. Permission was later granted for the Indians to remain on their lands after the expiration of the five-year period. A new treaty, signed in 1855, redefined the Indian reservations in more specific language. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:451; Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, 756-57, 810-11.

³⁰⁶Slater moved his mission to what became Prairieville Township in southwestern Barry County, not far from, but not on the Kalamazoo River. [Johnson], *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*, 472.

angry and he would say, "Mis-sip! hugh! Got dam, can't get in".³⁰⁷ I have mentioned that the Indians here assembled were such as were not at the distribution in Septr. at Mackinaw. Their portions were accordingly shipped around and, oh incredible meanness!, The Govrt. charged them with the costs of transportation and the fees & per centage of agents. It is enough to provoke the indignation of Heaven to smite the land with a money curse. For the abomination of our dealings with the miserable savages, it were a meet punishment to confound our trade at home and sweep our commerce from the seas. But "fraud sticketh between buying and selling like Morter between bricks".³⁰⁸

Trowbridge, who is my Cicerone on this occasion, pointed out several chiefs this morning and gave me partial sketches of their lives and characters. Most of them had been present at the massacre of the River Raisin. Among these old Cu-gi-as-cum³⁰⁹ interested me most. We gave him the cognomen of Spread Eagle on account of his roman nose and Eagle eye. His age was about 80 though apparently not more than 60, about middle stature, a face of the sternest aspect marked with a more than usual degree of savage Gloom, with a very compact though active figure. His features were much scarred with wounds. He was decidedly the noblest Roman of them all in his bearing, form & countenance. For many years he was the leading Chief of his whole tribe whose favour he sacrificed by a treaty with the Genrl. Govrt. for the sale of their Lands in the southern part of Michg. The Indians, always averse to a sale, had unanimously resolved in full council, to shoote the first man who signed the Treaty. Cu-gi-as-cum was intimate with Govr. Cass who persuaded him (with the promise it is said of an annuity of \$500) to

³⁰⁷The editors have been unable to identify Captain Jack. The last Indian lands in the St. Joseph River area were ceded in 1833, and the Indians were supposed to be removed to the west within three years. However, due to Indian opposition the final removal did not take place until 1838-39. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 35.

³⁰⁸The editors have been unable to find the source of this quotation.

³⁰⁹This Indian's name is spelled in various ways. He was known as Long Nose, because of his enormous nose, and had been the chief of the Ottawas of the Flat River area. He headed the list of Ottawa chiefs who signed the Treaty of Chicago on August 29, 1821, and was never forgiven by the Indians. In the fall of 1839 he was murdered by another Indian during the course of the drunken aftermath of the annual payment at Grand Rapids. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:201; Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 295-97.

step forward in the face of this threat at the hazard of his life and affix his signature. The other Chiefs were soon induced to follow his example and the lands were sold. Old Spread Eagle soon became obnoxious to many attempts upon his life by poison, a favourite mode of removing an enemy among the Indians, and all his family were destroyed in this quiet way. The Old Chief however escaped all the messes prepared for him and lives still in the daily apprehension of being privately removed. He has lost cast[e], and seems to hold intercourse with none. If he meets an Indian in his path he turns aside to let him pass. His wigwam is near the mouth of Flat River (30 miles above) in which he was nearly drowned lately by some of his persecutors, who left him for dead upon the Beach. The Govrt., it is said, gave him his annuity for a year or two, but it has now been stopt. He did not come in for a Chief's share at the distribution of the money.³¹⁰ The census or roll, was made out by Robinson, and many have been omitted by him by mistake, design or misspelling their names. I saw an old woman, whom I mentioned yesterday, with nothing to cover her aged limbs but a worn out blanket. Her name was not down and no bundle had been sent for her. She was a widow without children and thus left to meet the rigours of a Michg. winter without clothes[,] food or any thing. We made a contribution for her on the spot, and Major Whiting threw in an extra blanket and some small articles of various kinds. On our arrival at the meeting house this morning we found the chiefs assembled in council with a lieutenant[,] an agent of the Govrt. to treat with them for their immediate removal to the west of the Miss. They were in their best dresses and seated on the floor in a circle. Robinson acted as interpreter. They seemed very unwilling to treat on the subject. The Lieutenant, finally said he was very sorry to have to tell their Great father at Washington that they would not do him the small favour even to go to explore the country and report to their tribe before removing. Upon this one young chief said he would go and the exploring party was soon nominated and the place of meeting and time of departure in the spring, arranged. Just before dispersing an old Chief, with

³¹⁰This is not correct. In the list of chiefs of the "second class" who received \$200 appears the name of "Keway Gooschcum the former head chief." Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:455.

his head shaved, excepting a tuft of long grisly hair on the crown, observed with much solemnity and an air of deep sagacity that he had heard of parties of Indians going out to look at that country before, who were persuaded to make their marks on trees and dig holes in the ground and when they came back their Great father had said, You have put your mark on the hunting grounds and now you must go. "If there is any marking to be done this time", he added, ["the Lieut. must do it himself". To which they all gave their assent by a deep guttural "hugh".³¹¹ They listened with profound attention to each word uttered by the speaker whom they never interrupted, but would allow an interval of 5 minutes to elapse, lest he might have forgotten something, before another began. A good example for some more dignified bodies to imitate. We dined again with Mr. Slater on a good tough piece of salt beef. In the afternoon the presents were distributed to the towns consisting of Gunpowder and lead, saddles, tobacco, for the men and snuff for the squaws (none of whom I saw smoking), rice, nails &c[.] The men are ever with a pipe in their mouths (none I believe are savage enough to chew) which with an immoderate use of whisky is the sum total of their pleasures. I doubt whether it will be of any avail to give them agricultural implements, grains, tools &c[.] They seem to have no manipulation in the use of them. The hand of a Savage has not the natural cunning of a civilized mans. Old Red Jacket of New York³¹² said[.] "Whites can teach Indians only their vices. A white man is like a dog, you can teach him to come and go & carry things in his mouth. An Indian is like a wolf. It is not his nature & if you try to make him carry a stick in his mouth he will bite your hand" A plough in the hands of an Indian is as useless an

³¹¹Article 8 of the treaty of 1836 stipulated that as soon as the Indians desired to do so, a delegation was to be sent to the southwest of the Missouri River to select lands for the permanent settlement of these Indians. In the treaty of 1855, however, a radical policy change was made and the attempt to remove Michigan's Ottawas and Chippewas to the west was abandoned in favor of a plan to settle them permanently in the state. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:453; Alpheus Felch, "The Indians of Michigan and the Cession of their Lands to the United States by Treaties," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 26:289 (Lansing, 1896).

³¹²Sagoyewatha, nicknamed Red Jacket (c. 1758-1830), was chief of the Seneca Indians in New York and was one of the ablest Indian negotiators with the American government. He was a firm defender of the Indian ways who opposed the introduction of white customs. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 1650 (New York, 1950).

instrument as a quadrant in those of a Hottentot. About sun down, Major Whiting, having finished the distribution repaired to the meeting house, the door of which had been left open, to distribute one or two remaining rifles to some Chiefs who had by mistake got shot guns. But they were not to be found. We observed that the Indians looked as if they expected a scene and a dozen men entered the house with us. Upon missing the rifles, Whiting caused the interpreter to enquire by a call at the door, what had become of them; upon which a son of Cob-e-moo-sah (the three tailed bashaw), a fine[,] swarthy looking fellow with an obvious cross of the blackamoor in his countenance, but of a fine figure, his nostrils swelling with the excitement of the occasion, stepped up to the Major and striking the floor with great emphasis and action exclaimed, "I took them. that man has one & I the other" pointing to a young Chief who seemed disposed to let him do all the talking. Well, says Whiting, bring them back. they belong to those Old Chiefs. He [i.e., Cob-e-moo-sah's son] then put himself in a speaking attitude and said as follows (Robinson interpreting for me)—"I am a great hunter. I range through a thousand forests" (making a large circle on the table with his finger twice) ["I can hit the smallest mark. I have sold all my hunting grounds. I have no rifle. I wanted one. That was mine, I took it and wont return it" and he stuck to his word, the Major having to yield. Trowbridge informs me that this young orator hunter is the grandson of a negro who married a squaw. She brought him twins[,] a boy & girl. The former was a chief by inheritance & valour[,] the latter was one of the first wives of his Turkship, Cob-e-mo-sah and the mother of the purloiner of the Rifle.³¹³ To night their drunken orgies begin, which will result in many murders. The Chiefs, on such occasions, by way of precaution, have all the knives collected & put aside

³¹³ The number of Cobmoosa's sons is not certain, although one source states that he had eleven. It is quite likely that Trowbridge's story of Negro ancestry in Cobmoosa's family is true. Cobmoosa, himself, is reported by one source to have been part Negro. There was in 1779 a group of Negro traders at the mouth of the Muskegon River, and Negro traders were found elsewhere in the Great Lakes area. Jean Baptiste Point Sable, one of the earliest permanent settlers at Chicago, was probably Negro on his mother's side. *Lowell, 100 Years of History, 1831-1931*, 21; *History of Kent County*, 796; *Baxter, History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 29; *Quaife, Lake Michigan*, 103; *Bessie Louise Pierce, A History of Chicago*, 1:12 (New York, 1937).

before the drinking begins, but those who cherish old grudges contrive, when the spirit of malice & revenge is heated by intoxication, to dispatch their enemies with poison or a heavy blow. The women mix in the drunken revels and generally instigate their husbands to deeds of blood. There were several killed, before our arrival, in a brawl. Our Landlord Hinsdale has been very kind & communicative in giving me information. There is a great want of mechanics here as elsewhere. Upon our arrival, I had a disagreeable hole in my boote which let in the rain. Hilsdale [sic] assured me I could not get it mended but would be forced to buy a new pair. However, I had succeeded by a stratagem. I sent word to the cobbler that they were my only pair and if not mended, *the Indians could not be paid off tomorrow*. He mistook me for the Govrt. agent and had a neat patch put on in a few minutes. We shall leave in the morning for Ionia. Trowbridge goes up with us. From the window of the house where I am writing, I see by moon light, far across the Grand River, the ancient forests, hitherto the domain of the roving Indian & untrod but by him and the game he pursues. They are soon to yield to the axe of the whites and bear on their cultivated bosoms a half million of civilized men. The wild Indian in his native greatness, roaming the woods, is a sublime sight, but how infinitely more sublime the spectacle of civilization on its march, softening every thing with its plastic touch and raising into life new nations of intelligent and happy beings. Yet still it excites a feeling of melancholy to think that those thousand fastnesses untrod but by the hunter, those profound seclusions, the ancient empire of solitude herself, must be broken upon by the strokes of the axe, and the monarchs of the forest, "those murdered Banquos," be brought to the ground to build up the ignoble hut of some squallid settler. The surveyors are already rattling their chains and two years more will bring the whole region within the grasp of the speculator. Trowbridge and I have been offered some town lots at about \$500, which he & his friends here, think cheap. I am disposed to make a little investment, but time presses, & perhaps upon the whole good farming Lands @ \$1.25 are a better purchase.

Mem. (Major Whiting informs me). The National road from the mouth of Grand River to Detroit is to run through Oakland, Livingston, Ingham, Clinton[,] Ionia, & Kent Counties, passing

near here and touching at Granville and so on west. I[t] was begun 3 years since by the Genrl. Gvt. and is in part completed. Congress made no appropriation last year. Whiting has had the management of it lately. When finished it will be a thoroughfare to the state and much enhance the price of lands near which it passes. The other National roads are to Fort Gratiot, Saganaw, and Chicago from Detroit.³¹⁴ These are not to be turnpikes but are to be made in the best syle of the materials which the country affords. Twenty one years ago all that was known of Michg. was the strip settled about Detroit on the water. None had then penetrated the woods farther than a mile or two, except Traders and an expedition 30 miles up into Oakland was considered a great achievement. The Major called this evening to deliver us a letter to Brown the Register at Ionia.³¹⁵

Friday[,] Octr[.] 28th. 5 P. M. We are seated on the grass by the side of a miserable shanty on the north side of the river (Grand) near its junction with Flat River opposite marsack. We purpose spending the night here with our backs on the ground and our feet to the fire as well as we can. Our host is a great denizen of the squatter nation whom Robinson has placed here for the present to keep possession until his cabin is built, the wooden walls of which are already up. In the mean time our host occupies the aforesaid shanty and offers such "entertainment for man and horse" as the nature of the case permits. Our steeds are grazing about us in a natural meadow or prairie of some 200 or 300 acres in extent,

³¹⁴When the road from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River was finally completed is somewhat difficult to determine. In the early 1840's, however, a line of stagecoaches is supposed to have been in operation from Detroit to the Grand River. Many travelers continued for some years to take the longer route to Kalamazoo and then north through Yankee Springs when going to Grand Rapids. Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids*, 523; Samuel W. Durant, *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties, Michigan*, 92-93 (Philadelphia, 1880). For the other roads mentioned by Gordon, see Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 75-77 and 166; footnote 166 above.

³¹⁵Joseph W. Brown (1793-1880) was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and came to Tecumseh, Michigan, in 1824. As an officer in the territorial militia he served as a general in the Black Hawk War and was commander of Michigan's troops in the Toledo War. He was appointed register of the land office at Ionia when that office was established in 1836. He was forced to resign his position in 1838 as a result of an investigation into the conduct of the affairs of the office. *Michigan Biographies*, 1:118; "Letters of Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:503-5.

which is very fertile and has been cultivated within a few years by the Indians who have a villiage in the vicinity. Robinson expects to get the most valuable slice of it by preoccupancy. He is prepari[ng] to fence in about 700 acres for cultivation.³¹⁶ Marsacks is the usual halfway house for travellers, but there is some difficulty in crossing the river and he is "a d-d Frenchman", as Trowbridge says, from whom we should not get as fair treatment as from our own people at the shanty. His true reason however, I suspect to be, a little apprehension at trusting himself & his gold (for he has a considerable sum with him) among the boatmen who rendezvous there. We made a late start from the Grand Rapids. I was detained by calling on Lyon who gave me letters to the Receiver at Ionia³¹⁷ and his brother who lives in the vicinity.³¹⁸ We retraced our late route as far as Robinsons at the mouth of the Thornapple, where, having

³¹⁶Daniel Marsac (or Marsaque), came from Detroit to trade with the Indians of the Flat River in 1829, and in 1830 or 1831 built a log cabin on the left bank of the Grand River opposite the mouth of the Flat River. Here he traded with the Indians. In 1835 he purchased land and became the first permanent settler at what became the village of Lowell. In the summer of 1836 Rix Robinson's brother, Lewis, and his relative, Philander Tracy, came in and began the construction of a house which was to be used in part by Rix Robinson as a store for his trade with the Indians. An arrangement was reached with the Indians whereby they would let Robinson have their old field if he broke up another piece for their use. This he did. Lewis Robinson and Tracy are supposed to have come up river with other settlers on October 13, 1836, which is the date given for the first "real settlement" at Flat River. Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 210-11; *History of Kent County*, 1180-85.

³¹⁷Allen Hutchins was appointed receiver of the new land office at Ionia in July, 1836. He had come to Adrian, Michigan, from Orleans County, New York, in 1832 or 1833. He served in the legislature in 1835 and 1836 and was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1835. Hutchins was removed from office in 1838 for misappropriating public funds. *Michigan Biographies*, 1:433-34; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 12:1204; "Letters of Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:503-5.

³¹⁸It is clear from what Gordon says elsewhere in his journal that he called on Lucius Lyon (see footnote 299 above). However, strange as it may seem, the editors have been unable to positively identify the brother of this outstanding public figure to whom Gordon was to take a letter. The Lyon genealogy declares that Lucius Lyon was the oldest of seven children of Asa Lyon, a farmer in Shelburne, Vermont, but it does not give any information about the other children. Edward and Truman Lyon, who were associated with Lucius in the establishment of the village of Lyons, farther up the Grand River from Ionia, were from Shelburne but were of a different family. It is possible that Ira Lyon, who is referred to by Lucius in several letters as his land agent, may have been his brother. Sidney Elizabeth Lyon, ed., *Lyon Memorial: Families of Connecticut and New Jersey*, 374, 376 (Detroit, 1907); "Letters of Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:438, 461, 463.

first rested our horses a half hour, we swam them over the Grand River with much trouble for the shore was miry and our canoe small & leaky. We struck an Indian trail on the Bank of the River and followed it through the woods and low grounds to this place keeping always near the stream. For the first few miles we traversed oak openings with a hill flanking us on the left and crossed now and then by a fine clear brooke, up whose course the land appeared to be of a fine quality, as indeed was its general character to this place. A mile back we passed some fresh indian graves and the black spots occupied by several wigwams which had been burnt. Trowbridge tells me that [the] inmates, probably had the small pox which raged among them last year, and that the survivors had abandoned their houses & burnt them in consternation, as they often do. There are likewise several new graves within a few yards from the spot where we are seated. We put a few quarts of corn in our saddle bags at Thorn apple River for our poor horses, who have found it musty and prefer grass. Upon overhaling my packages this afternoon I find my bottle of Laudnum & Magnesia crushed against each other and united in a mass of clay. so, I e'en will throw the physic to the Indian dogs. I can see to write no farther and put by my journal to prepare for roughing it. The day has been delicious and the night promises to be mild.

Saturday[,] Octr: 29th. O, I have passed a miserable night. "I shall never forget the delightfull sensation with which I have exchanged the dark, smoky, smothering atmosphere of a Squatter's hut, in which we passed the night so uncomfortably, for the refreshing fragrance of the morning air and the Glorious beams of the rising Sun. To the left lay the valley down which the Flat River flows with stealthy pace, lingering around its beautiful islets, which it surrounds with all its garland of woods. Below us wanders, amid a profusion of thickets, fringed with the most luxurient growth of oaks, poplar[,] &c sugar tree, the Grand River, lightly curling its tiny waves, by the breath of the morning breeze, each glittering in its course under the influence of the sunbeams. High hills, smooth Banks and verdant meadows waving with natural Parks of oak form the Borders of this noble stream, & as their leaves rustled to the wind and twinkled in the sun, gave to the depth of solitude a sort of life and vivacity. Man alone seemed to be placed in a state of inferiority,

in a scene where all the ordinary features of nature were refined and beautifull."³¹⁹

We took our breakfast of fried pork and corn mush with more comfort, than our supper, out of the hut in the pure air and light of heaven. Near the bank of the River we observed some fresh graves of those Indians who died last year of the small pox. Old Cu-gi-as-cum (Spread Eagle as we named him) lives near the mouth of Flat River. He it was who of all the Chiefs alone dared to come forward and sign, at the risk of his life, the treaty of Chichago ceeding to the U. S. all the lands south of the Grand River.³²⁰ He was promised, as Trowbridge says, in consideration thereof, an annuity of \$500 for life, which, nevertheless, has not been paid him. He has, in consequence, lost caste with his tribe, having been degraded by them, or descended himself, voluntarily, to escape odium, to the rank of second chief. The other day he reced. at the distribution at the Rapids, but \$200. The first class of chiefs reced. each \$500. He continues to be very unpopular with his Tribe, who look up[on] him with a suspicious eye, and lately the people of his own villiage attempting to drown him, left him for dead on the River Bank, from whence he either revived or was rescued by the kindness of some friend. His Son was poisoned soon after his father signed the Chichago treaty.

At 8 A. M. we mounted our horses, hungry[,] stiff & dull from a hard ride and harder fare, and set on our way for Ionia. Intending to take the upper tract, [*sic*] we missed our way at the turning of the path which is very blind and pursued the lower route. Our path led through bottom land near the bank of the river the whole way about 20 miles. The principal growth of the Forest was oak openings running into heavy timber. The soil of an excellent quality and well watered by many clear brooks, which crossed our path, and the margin of some of which were very miry. Once my horse was completely down and several times very deep in. Clem's horse, which [*is*] very slow, continued to fall farther and farther behind us at such bad crossing[s], until finally I had to stop for him a[nd] let Trowbridge, our guide, go ahead. He had \$10.000 in gold in

³¹⁹Why Gordon enclosed these sentences in quotation marks is not readily evident.

³²⁰1836 Octr. 29 Saturday (marginal note by J.M.G.)

his saddle bags and was anxious to get them in a place of safety.³²¹ When Clem came up, I exchanged horses with him and kept him before me in a brisk trot, hoping to overtake Trowbridge, which we succeeded in doing at the entrance of the town. The worst crossing we encountered was for the space of some twenty yards near the saw mill about 3 miles from Ionia, where I feared Clems horse would have broken his leg, which he got between the limbs of a fallen tree as he plunged through the quagmire. We reached Ionia, about 1 p. m. after a most fatiguing and anxious ride. The feeling with which one encounters directly in his path, an impassable quagmire or bog, which must be passed, is little short of agony. When after a carefull survey one finds the thing as bad as it can be, he dismounts and trusting in a kind Providence, whips his Horse in, not knowing whether he is to perish before his eyes in the devouring mud, or to get through with a broken or sprained limb, or to stick some where midway, where he cannot be approached and the Rider be left to pass the night in the woods listening to his groans as he is torn to pieces by wolves, for they will attack and devour a horse under such circumstances.³²² If he gets safely through, then heart-felt [prayers] are put up in silence for the unexpected delivery.

30 Sunday[.] I was quite relieved in mind this morning to find my Horse not foundered by the heavy ride of yesterday.

At this place Clem met a Philadelphia acquaintance[,] a Mr. Phillips. Nothing could exceed the astonishment manifested by the latter at such a meeting, in such a nook and corner of the world and in such poor plight as Clem rode up to the Tavern, a beard 3 days long, and his white Horse and white blanket great coat splattered from head to foot. Phillips could hardly believe his eyes, and his natural salutation was, What in the D.—s name brought you here! A Mr. Glenn³²³ was travelling with him. These two have been in the woods for several weeks looking for lands and have made

³²¹Because of its isolated position, Ionia had an especially acute shortage of specie in 1836 when the land office opened. Hence, Trowbridge with his \$10,000 in gold would have been welcome. A broker's office across the street from the land office sold gold and silver at 10 per cent premium at this time. The supply never lasted more than a half day. John S. Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties, Michigan*, 142 (Philadelphia, 1881).

³²²1836 Octr 29 Saturday Ionia (marginal note by J.M.G.)

³²³A partial search of the land records for the area failed to furnish any clues to the identity of Phillips or Glenn.

their selections. They have, very kindly given me some numbers which they examined and will not take up for want of means. The Office opens up Tuesday and as I have but one day to spare, this is the only mode in which I can make any entries to advantage. Time does not suffice for me to look at the lands in person. I have heard likewise from Glenn of some sections of timber low down on the Grand River, the same which my Boarding House Keeper mentioned at the Grand Rapids, which I shall probably enter. Messrs. P. & G leave here on tuesday and I shall endeavour so to arrange matters as to go down to Bronson with them. They make Niles their Head quarters and have pressed me to return to Detroit that way. As an inducement they mention the fine grouse & partridge shooting and another and more interesting route back to Detroit.³²⁴ Phillips has good guns and has bagged as many as 40 Grouse in a day. We shall accept their invitation if we can make it convenient.

This villiage consists of some 10 or 12 small frame houses for the most part, just put up.³²⁵ We are at Spencers Boarding House,³²⁶ and sleep in a loft where are spread 12 beds each occupied by two lodgers. Our meals are pretty good, but that we have a scramble before them. The number of guests is about 40 persons. I have procured maps of the townships in which lie the lands Glenn has visited and have others in hand, making, of the counties Clinton and Eaton. But a very few speculators appear to be on the ground and not many settlers.³²⁷

³²⁴This other route was the Chicago Road, south of the Territorial Road which Gordon had taken on his trip from Detroit to St. Joseph.

³²⁵Ionia was founded in 1833 by a company of New Yorkers led by Samuel Dexter. A small settlement had been established by the summer of 1836 when the land office was opened. Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 137-41.

³²⁶Asa Spencer was one of Ionia's pioneer settlers. In 1836 he established what John Ball described as "a kind of hotel," the first in the village. It was "a one-story house with three small rooms, and a chamber or garret over the same, as a general sleeping room, and in which were as many beds as could well stand, and, of course, two usually in each bed." Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 109, 139, 140; *Autobiography of John Ball*, 143-44.

³²⁷The land office at Ionia opened on September 20, 1836, and speculators and land hunters are reported to have flocked in. The rush was so great that applicants frequently had to wait weeks to make an entry. Those who came to settle reportedly grew disgusted as a result of the amount of speculation and shunned the area. Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 141-42.

Perhaps they are still in the woods hunting lands and will be in tomorrow.³²⁸ I have some land in view about 7 miles from the mouth of the Maple River (Lyons location who has given me a letter to his Brother residing there)³²⁹ This spot it is said is destined some day to become a great place for transshipment. Lyons, it is reported, has been very fortunate and judicious in making his locations on and at all the great points along the River. He came to Michigan from New England some 15 years since. At first he sawed wood for a living in Detroit, then he became a surveyor, for which his New England education qualified him, in which vocation he traversed the state in every direction, and thus obtained the information of which he has had the sagacity to avail himself and has perhaps laid for his posterity the foundation of a princely Fortune, if he can hold on to his investments long enough.³³⁰

³²⁸1836 Octr 30 Sunday Ionia (marginal note by J.M.G.)

³²⁹In 1835 Lucius Lyon, through various agents whom he appointed, began to develop his landholdings at the mouth of the Maple River. The following year he sent out workmen to build a bridge, stores, and dwellings, and on November 26, 1836, the plat of the village of Lyons, signed by Lucius Lyon, was recorded. Edward and Truman Lyon, who were respectively the village's first storekeeper and postmaster, were probably cousins of Lucius Lyon, although the relationship is not clearly established. "Letters of Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:461, 481; Schenck, *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 237-238; Lyon, ed., *Lyon Memorial: Families of Connecticut and New Jersey*, 376.

³³⁰That part of Gordon's Michigan Journal which has survived concludes at this point.

The Michigan Historical Commission in 1958-59

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION is in an era of expanding interest in state and local history. The increased interest in local history is national. It began during and after World War II. The heightened interest in local origins which developed as a result of the war has speeded up as we approach the centennial years of the Civil War.

As the official state historical agency, the Historical Commission cooperates with other associations, groups, and individuals which may have a direct or indirect interest in the history of Michigan and the nation. Evidence of the increased interest in Michigan history is to be found in what other agencies did in 1958-59 as well as in what the commission accomplished.

Closely associated with the Historical Commission is the Historical Society of Michigan. The commission's executive secretary, Dr. Lewis Beeson, serves as the secretary-treasurer of the society.

In 1958-59 the Historical Society of Michigan held its 84th annual meeting in East Lansing where, at a two-day session, numerous interesting papers on the history of Michigan were read, and the first annual Clarence M. Burton Lecture was given by William B. Hesseltine, well-known historian of the Civil War period from the University of Wisconsin. The Clarence M. Burton Lecture, named in honor of one of Michigan's devoted historians and great collector of records, was made possible through a generous gift from the Burton Foundation.

Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, a member of the Historical Commission, was elected president of the society at this meeting in succession to Mr. Henry Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum.

The Historical Society of Michigan held two conferences in 1958-59 for people interested in local historical museums and societies. The first, in July, 1958, was at Ann Arbor; the second in June, 1959, was at Muskegon. A third regular annual meeting

of the society is conducted for persons and local societies interested in the history of the Upper Peninsula. The ninth Upper Peninsula conference took place at St. Ignace on June 24-25, 1958, in connection with the dedication of the Mackinac Bridge. Seventeen local historical societies presented reports of their activities during the past year at this meeting.

A unique society is the Centennial Farm Association. It is comprised of persons who have been recognized as owners of farms which have been in the possession of the same family for over one hundred years. In 1958, one hundred sixty-eight new families were added to the 1057 which already had received this accolade from the commission. The Centennial Farm Association, jointly sponsored by the Michigan Historical Commission and Michigan State University, holds its annual meeting on the university campus in February in connection with Farmers' Week. In 1959 approximately one hundred fifty persons attended the sessions of this association.

As the nation and Michigan approaches the Civil War centennial years, more and more interest is being shown in what many historians have called the crucial point in the history of the United States. After World War II a pre-occupation with the Civil War evidenced itself with a yearly increase in the books written about the men and events of the war; Civil War round tables were organized by men who were interested in this phase of our history; and military gun clubs were organized in both North and South. These clubs annually have meetings at Greenfield Village where units from northern and southern states, dressed in Civil War regimental uniforms, compete. In the fall of 1958, thousands of people enjoyed this annual event at Greenfield Village, where muzzle-loaders were seen in action, fife and drum bands competed, and colorful frontier and Civil War costumes were worn.

The interest in the Civil War led to the creation by Congress of a national Civil War Centennial Commission. In Michigan, Governor G. Mennen Williams appointed a State Civil War Centennial Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Floyd L. Haight. Dr. Beeson was asked to serve as executive secretary of this commemorative commission. The 1959 Legislature gave statutory authority to the Civil War Centennial Commission by creating a commission of

nine members to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Of great significance to amateur and professional students of Michigan history was the inauguration at the McGregor Center on Wayne State University campus, November 7-8, 1958, of a local history conference sponsored by the Detroit Historical Society, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, and the history department of Wayne State University. Over three hundred persons attended this conference.

One of the major concerns of the Historical Commission is the preservation, restoration, and interpretation of sites having historical interest so that residents of Michigan and out-of-state visitors can the better appreciate the state's history. One method to accomplish this objective is the erection of historical markers throughout the state. This activity, which is the direct responsibility of the commission, will be described below.

A related activity is to encourage other state agencies and private interests in developing properly historic sites. Two major accomplishments are to be recorded for 1958-59.

At the request of Governor G. Mennen Williams, Dr. Beeson, on July 1, 1957, submitted a master plan for the development of historic sites and museums in the Mackinac Straits area. This plan was approved by the Governor. It was discussed at a meeting of the members of the Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission held at the Mackinac Island residence of Mr. Stewart Woodfill, chairman of the latter commission, on July 11, 1957, where the master plan met with general sympathy and the thinking of the two commissions was found to coincide.

As a result of the cooperation offered by the Historical Commission, the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, in the winter of 1957-58, began to plan for the reorganization of the Fort Mackinac museum so as to interpret the history of the fort more effectively than had been done. On May 1, 1958, Dr. Eugene Petersen was freed by the Historical Commission of his duties as director of the State Historical Museum and given the responsibility of developing for the Mackinac Island State Park Commission a modern historical museum at Fort Mackinac. The result was that by June, 1958, the first step in developing the historical resources of the Mackinac

Straits area had been taken. Not only had the collection of relics exhibited in one of the buildings at Fort Mackinac been replaced by exhibits depicting the history of the fort, but the entire fort had been turned into a museum. The 1958 season at Fort Mackinac proved that properly administered historical sites and museums can be a cultural and economic success.

The second major accomplishment in developing historical sites to be recorded for 1958-59 was the acquisition in May, 1959, of the ghost industrial town of Fayette by the parks division of the Michigan Department of Conservation. The acquisition of this very interesting historical site meant the accomplishment of one of the Historical Commission's long-time objectives—the placing under competent management of one of the state's major historical attractions.

From May 1, 1958 on, when Dr. Petersen began his work of improving the historical interpretation of Fort Mackinac, Mrs. Dorothy Barnard, museum assistant, took over the responsibilities of the director of the State Historical Museum. On November 8, 1958, Dr. Petersen resigned from his position with the Historical Commission to become director of the Fort Mackinac Division of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, and Mrs. Barnard became acting director of the State Historical Museum.

The normal functions of the State Historical Museum were continued in spite of a limited staff. The objectives of service, cooperation, and development of displays were carried out. Mrs. Barnard served as program chairman for the Seventh Annual Michigan Museums Conference in Ann Arbor, June 1958. She also acted as a member of the program committee for the 1959 museums conference held in Muskegon, June 1959, and served on one of the panel sessions.

Increased interest in and activity at the State Historical Museum occurred in 1958-59. Numerous personal appearances before groups and television were made by Mrs. Barnard. Her personal appearances were especially effective because of the way she used museum material to arouse interest. Various special groups were entertained at the museum during the year in addition to the usual visitors. School groups and out-of-state visitors are especially interested in what they learn of the history of Michigan through the exhibits at the museum.

This year the museum staff was especially active because of requests for assistance occasioned by the Lansing centennial celebration.

Effective new museum displays were established by Mrs. Barnard. With a negligible expenditure of funds, a series of rooms depicting an average home of the Victorian period were opened early in the fall of 1958. This area, which includes a living room, bedroom, kitchen, and workshed, has been one of the most popular with visitors. New cases and exhibits were developed in the main hall—one to feature a particular theme for a limited period, and another to display publications of the Historical Commission.

At such time as material can be obtained, it is planned to install a general store display of an earlier period in what has been known as the war room in the museum. Loan exhibits were set up in the pioneer room, among which was a very popular one of an early Michigan lumber camp, borrowed from the Genesee Historical Society.

The creation of new exhibits in the cases in the rotunda of the capitol was started early in December, and by July 1, 1959, only four cases remained to be modernized. Some of the military material used in the rotunda exhibits was removed from the museum displays, but temporary exhibits have been installed so that no areas are standing empty.

Planning for a Civil War centennial exhibit was begun early in 1959 and has progressed slowly due to more pressing demands on the staff. Materials have been made available to establish a panel. Michigan Week celebration created activity through requests for material from schools, organizations, and merchants. The museum staff assisted in setting up a display in the capitol featuring the filmstrip, "Michigan in the Civil War."

Attendance at the museum has been excellent, with a substantial increase over the previous year. During Michigan Week about 1,200 students visited the museum. School and scout groups came in large numbers. Special groups, including the Historical Society of Michigan, visited the museum. The Archeological Society of Michigan met at the museum on Sunday evening, January 11, and the Vassar Historians Club requested a tour on Saturday, March 14. The Historical Commission also held its March meeting in the museum. Approximately 75,000 have viewed the capitol rotunda

exhibits; and as with the museum, many have expressed pleasure in the new displays.

Interest continues in the centennial farm program. In 1958, 168 new certificates were issued, and nearly one hundred applications have been processed so far in 1959. Special news release forms were mailed to newspapers featuring local centennial farm markers; and a 1958 supplement to the *Directory of Centennial Farm Owners* was compiled in April, 1959.

Mrs. Barnard attended the annual Midwest Museums Conference in Kansas City, Missouri, in October, 1958; otherwise very little traveling was done because of curtailed funds.

Despite the fact that no state funds were appropriated for markers by the 1958 legislature, the state markers program did not end and Dr. May continued to carry on as historic sites specialist as well as to perform archival functions. Indeed the possibility that private funds might be enough to keep the marker program going on a limited scale became increasingly likely during the year. By June 30, 1959, work had been completed on the following privately-purchased state markers: Early Missionary Bark Chapel, Fort Holmes, and Kalamazoo School Case.

The Historical Commission has, from the beginning of the present program of marking historical sites, made a distinction in sites having state-wide importance from those having only local significance. The inauguration of the local marking program was a most important forward step during 1958-59. A new, small-sized plaque, which would meet the needs of many local sites, was designed. By June 30, eight markers for local historical sites were completed or on order. These were all paid for from private funds. In addition, plans for several markers in Albion, the Irish Hills area, Battle Creek, Paw Paw, Mackinac Island, Rogers City, and the Ottawa National Forest were well under way.

In addition to functioning as historic sites specialist, Dr. May also serves as research archivist for the commission. In this capacity, he made a careful survey of records at the archives that relate to the Civil War and made a report on his findings in the discussions at the local history conference in November, 1958. He made a thorough study of the Governors' Papers with a view to determining how these most valuable records could be made more available to scholars. In

response to an inquiry from Mr. Roscoe Bonisteel, he began to examine and organize the papers of Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck. This body of records is the largest the commission has for any governor down to the 1940's. As this work goes on, Dr. May is preparing a new and accurate finding list to the Groesbeck Papers.

Mr. Vernon Beal, the archivist in charge of local governmental records, that is, records of counties, cities, and townships, continued to visit county seats and city halls in order to determine if records which no longer were of value to the governmental unit had historical value and should be preserved. In the process of examining records to ascertain if they had permanent value, in many instances Mr. Beal also served incidentally as a records administrator and advisor for the county and city. In 1958-59 Mr. Beal also took over the responsibility for the examination of state records so that in effect he became the archivist responsible for the examination of all governmental records.

The records subjected to Mr. Beal's examination fall into two types: those classes of records which still are currently being used and which, consequently, come up for review recurrently; and those classes of records which no longer are being used. Records which are obsolete through a change in the law, a change in function or activity, or change in the record forms fall into this class. Since this type of record no longer is being created, it is not necessary to review these for historical value more than once.

During 1958-59, cities, townships, counties, and state agencies submitted twenty-four schedules of records currently being used, consisting of 496 items. After examination, only eighteen of these items were found to have historical value. There were eighteen lists of obsolete record classes referred to the commission. These lists from cities, townships, counties, and state governmental agencies consisted of one hundred separate items of which only twelve were found to have enough information to warrant being preserved.

The archival services of the Historical Commission saves the taxpayer money, not only at the state level but also at the county and city level. To illustrate: of the seventy-four items proposed for disposal on the city recurrent schedules, none were found to have historical value. Thus these records may be destroyed as they cease to have value for the agency of origin. Before the Historical Com-

mission had an archivist to perform this service, these useless records would pile up in city halls and county courthouses and use up valuable space at the taxpayers' expense. On the other hand, the few valuable records would be lost in the rubble of worthless paper.

The growing maturity of the archives of the Historical Commission is best exemplified in the internal, housekeeping functioning of the division. Once record classes have been examined for their historical value and a determination made that they do have permanent value, and after they cease to have value for the agency of origin, they come into the custody of the archival staff where they are organized so that the historical and other information they contain may be used. This work expanded in 1958-59. Conversely, the staff available for the development of internal controls and finding aids and for increasing service to government workers and scholars decreased by one archivist and a stenographer.

The archival assistant, Miss Geneva Kebler, assumed the archival responsibilities formerly performed by Dr. Philip Mason, except for the examination of state records in the office of origin, which work, as has been said, was taken over by Mr. Vernon Beal. In addition, Miss Kebler answered the major part of the research inquiries received by the commission. The acceleration of the entire archival program and the loss of a full-time stenographer has limited her related activities outside of office hours to a participation in two conferences and service as administrative secretary to a local historical society.

Miss Kebler is assisted in the internal administration of the archives by Mrs. Elizabeth Rademacher, accessions clerk, and by Mrs. Aleta Johnson, stenographer. In 1958-59, Mrs. Rademacher divided her time between the accessioning of records, and re-accessioning of manuscript personal papers, and the photograph file.

During 1958-59, the collections were increased by record groups from ten state agencies and one city.

A control file of the records in the care of the archives is a major contribution to the effectiveness and efficiency of the division. A card for each of the thirty-one state agencies, fifteen counties, three cities, and four townships offers the following information: lots, accession number, location, date received, quantity, status, and comments. With one exception, all the record groups received from state

agencies are properly accessioned, controlled, labeled, and shelved. No subject description or finding aids have been made to the backlog of archival material from several local units of government. Emphasis on inventorying the records from state agencies has resulted in twelve completed finding aids. Priority has been given to the most important and voluminous record groups. Inventory procedure and format recommended by the National Archives was followed in inventories and special lists.

Manuscript personal papers have been re-accessioned and indexed. This discloses little-known items to researchers, and allows effective reporting to the Library of Congress *Union List of Manuscripts*.

A total of 7,020 photographic prints and negatives were added in this twelve month period. The only cost for glossy eight by ten black and white prints and negatives was the cost of a letter of request for help in developing the collection. Journalists, television programmers, teachers, and students borrowed 626 photographs.

Graduate students, historians, government officials, and teachers continue to be the researchers who write or visit the archives most frequently. Replies vary from uncomplicated letters including bibliography to detailed ones involving a check of finding aids, examination of available records, knowledge of resources in other major research centers and in print. About one half of the 450 visitors to the archives came to use archival and manuscript material. A steady increase in the use of archives in all forms is attributed to the high standard of service, the availability of finding aids, and effective reporting about resources to state officials and the public.

The importance of services to school teachers is evident by the distribution of 4,397 packets of free informational sheets this year. The lack of duplicate photographs curtails loans to teachers. The publication of picture kits designed for classroom use would be a major contribution to the accurate presentation of Michigan history to young people.

Members of special interest groups related to Michigan history were introduced to the archives by seven exhibits, an open house, and one all-day conference. Printed guides were published for two major exhibits. The archives were host to visitors from El Salvador, Thailand, Pakistan, and Indonesia, as well as to representatives of Michigan's education institutions, and government officials.

Document restoration remains a pressing need of the archives. Continued delay in the restoration of documents will result in irreparable damage to them. Fire-damaged papers grow more brittle and deterioration by plastic tape progresses alarmingly. Photographic filing envelopes approved by the American Standard Association for storing processed photographic films, plates, and papers are badly needed for the preservation of the collection.

Publication of finding aids to record groups in the archives is recommended as soon as possible. Several requests for copies have been received from major research centers. At the present the archives can only share carbon copies of inventories.

Although vertical file material is weeded to a minimum, inadequate metal filing space forces the archives staff to place folders in Records Center storage boxes. This type of filing of often used material is cumbersome and expensive and should be replaced.

A program encouraging the writing of histories of state agencies and institutions should be instituted. The Michigan Historical Commission archives is the logical agency to lead in this activity.

Work carried on through the Munson Michigan History Fund continued. In accepting the bequest left to it by Dr. John M. Munson, the Historical Commission assumed the responsibility of producing two works: a history of Michigan and a history of education in Michigan. The first responsibility was fulfilled in 1954 with the appearance of Dr. F. Clever Bald's *Michigan in Four Centuries*.

With the appointment in January, 1958, of Dr. Wynand Wichers as general editor of the history of education, progress on the second major Munson Fund publication was begun in earnest. It was decided to cover the history of education in four volumes, the fourth of which was to deal with the history of higher education in the state. Mr. Floyd Dain was chosen to write the history of education from its beginnings to the Constitution of 1850; Mr. Charles Starring from 1850 to 1909; and Dr. Donald Disbrow from 1909 to 1946. Dr. Willis F. Dunbar was selected as the author of the history of higher education.

Dr. Munson, in establishing his fund, had in mind the improvement of the teaching of Michigan history and an increase in the amount of Michigan history taught. The first step in achieving Dr. Munson's objectives seemed to the Commission to be to encourage

the training of more teachers for the teaching of Michigan history in the elementary and secondary schools. In 1958-59, courses in the history of Michigan were offered in all of the tax supported institutions of higher learning and in several of the private colleges of the state. Bald's *Michigan in Four Centuries* was almost universally used as the textbook in these courses.

Provision of adequate and usable materials on the history of Michigan for the elementary and secondary grades proved to be more difficult than supplying a one-volume history of Michigan for adult and college readers. Perhaps the chief difficulty is that Michigan history is not taught universally at any one grade, but is taught commonly at the third or fourth-grade levels, at the eighth-grade, and in connection with the American history course usually offered at the tenth-grade level.

One step in the provision of materials for use in Michigan schools was the publication in February, 1956, of John Clementz' and Mary Noecker's *Teachers' Guide to Michigan History* in an edition of 5,000. This was an outline integrating Michigan history with United States history, based on Bald's *Michigan in Four Centuries* and five standard senior high school American history textbooks. The demand for this booklet exhausted the supply in 1958. A second edition of 1,000 copies appeared in February, 1959.

The multilithing of a unit of study on Michigan history which had been prepared for use by eighth-grade teachers in the Holland schools was a second step in providing usable materials for the schools. The *Holland Unit of Study* was published in 1957 in an edition of 500 copies. These were distributed in response to requests by teachers. In 1958 the stock of the *Holland Unit of Study* was depleted. A second edition of 1,000 copies was published in February, 1959.

A second method of providing usable material in Michigan schools—one in accordance with modern techniques of teaching—was the inauguration of a series of filmstrips in 1956. These filmstrips are accompanied with a manual for the teacher to use in describing the filmstrip when it is shown. The filmstrips are a joint production of the Munson Michigan History Fund and the Audio-Visual Education Center of the University of Michigan. By July 1, 1959, 601 copies of the filmstrip on the *Lumbering Era in Michigan History* had been

sold since its appearance in April, 1956; 416 copies of *Great Lakes Transportation* since July, 1957; 232 copies of *Iron Ore Mining in Michigan Past and Present* since May, 1958; and 151 copies of *Michigan in the Civil War* since November, 1958. In November, 1958, work was begun on a fifth filmstrip, *Highway Transportation in Michigan*, by Dr. Philip Mason, formerly on the staff of the Historical Commission and now archivist for Wayne State University, who, with Mr. Ford Lemler, director of the Audio-Visual Education Center, has been responsible for producing the filmstrip series.

Other Munson Fund activities include enlarging the collection of photographs relating to Michigan; preliminary steps toward a revision of *Michigan in Four Centuries*; and, in May, 1959, authorization for the production of a new supplementary series to be called *Munson Fund Pamphlets*. This series will provide teachers with short, general accounts on such subjects as lumbering in Michigan, Michigan Indians, and the French period in Michigan.

Practically all of the time of the associate editor, Mrs. Helen Everett, is concerned with the production of the four issues of *Michigan History* which appear each year. The production in other states of a magazine of 128 pages four times a year is accomplished by a staff of two to five persons; in Michigan it is accomplished by one under the general supervision of the executive secretary of the Commission.

During the year Mrs. Everett edited the index of forty-four pages, read a manuscript of 256 pages on logging terms with a view to publishing, worked with several people and organizations relative to reprints, supervised the binding of the magazine, and assisted on problems of editorial scope. In addition, she read many articles which were not accepted for publication.

During August, 1958, Mrs. Everett took an intensive course in TV broadcasting at Michigan State University. This three-hour, post-graduate level course was consistent with the Historical Commission's policy of encouraging and helping its staff to receive further professional training.

The administrative office of the Historical Commission, in addition to the executive-secretary and editor, Dr. Lewis Beeson, is staffed by Mrs. June Keep, office manager; Miss Thelma Joseph; Miss

Stella Rossow; and Mrs. Barbara Symons. Mrs. Jacqueline Sanders, an employee of the Historical Society of Michigan, has desk space in the office also.

This staff is responsible for routing all correspondence received by the commission, maintaining accurate controls over all publications for sale, accounting for all receipts and disbursements, and the processing of all accounting and budget procedures. Mrs. Keep, as personnel officer for the commission, is primarily responsible, under the executive-secretary, for payrolls, Civil Service procedures, and personnel.

The appropriation to the Historical Commission in 1958-59 was \$95,000, a decrease of \$28,250 from the 1957-58 appropriation of \$123,250. A major portion of the decrease was due to the decision of the 1958 Legislature not to continue the appropriation of \$25,000 for historical markers.

The appropriations to and expenditures of the Historical Commission for 1958-59 follow:

ITEM	APPROPRIATION	EXPENDITURES
Unclassified Salaries	\$15,350.00	\$11,287.09
Classified Salaries	60,702.00	60,638.29
1% Unallotted	613.00	613.00
Contractual Services, Supplies		
& Materials	17,985.00	17,248.84
Equipment	350.00	2.50
Totals	<u>\$95,000.00</u>	<u>\$89,789.82</u>

The Historical Commission consists of six members, serving six-year terms. The Commissioners receive no pay for their services other than actual expenses. In 1958-59, the Commission met five times in Lansing, twice in Detroit, and once at Marshall, Ann Arbor, Higgins Lake, and Muskegon. In addition to giving thirteen days of their time to Commission business, the Commissioners participated as individuals in such affairs as the presentation of historical markers, the presentation of Centennial Farm markers, attendance at historical conferences, and attendance at meetings of historical societies.

The Commission in 1958-59 was composed of Mrs. Donald E. Adams, Drayton Plains, president; Mr. Chester W. Ellison, Lansing, vice-president; Mr. Prentiss M. Brown, St. Ignace; Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, Ann Arbor; Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, Kalamazoo; Mr. Willard C. Wichers, Holland; and Governor G. Mennen Williams, *ex officio*.

St. Mary's of Sylvan

Ellis R. Martin

WHEN, AT THE END OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS, the tide of immigration to this country set in, considerable numbers of Irish pushed into the western end of Washtenaw County attracted by the resemblance of the area to their native land. Indeed, with its hills, many lakes, and green forests, the countryside did look like that of Ireland. The settlers took up land and were soon at home in the wilderness, especially in the townships of Sylvan and Lyndon, a few miles from where Chelsea now stands.

Since there were no Catholic churches nearer than Ann Arbor, the Irish settlers were largely without the comforts of their religion except for an occasional Mass celebrated in a settler's cabin, as was done in the home of Thomas Carroll, south of Cedar Lake, in 1833. When Darius Pierce, a member of the legislature, offered a parcel of land for a church and cemetery, the offer was accepted. The tract, embracing two acres and designed for "a church and cemetery" as the deed provided, lay on a sunny hillside in Sylvan Township, and here, in 1844, a plain, unpainted church with neither cross nor bell, was built. Its original dimensions are no longer known, but in its final form, after one and perhaps two enlargements, it was approximately twenty by twenty-eight or thirty feet on the main aisle, with an eastern transept eighteen by twenty feet. It was called St. Mary's of Sylvan.

Behind the altar was a sacristy adjoining a room for the convenience of priests, and about midway between the altar and the door was a stove. The main door opened opposite the altar, and there was another entrance at the end of the transept aisle.

The interior was severely plain without paint or paper and with plain wooden pews. The altar candlesticks, which survive, were about three feet tall, of turned wood painted black.

Since there was no resident priest, the church was served by a missionary group as yet undetermined. (There are no chancery records for Washtenaw County before 1874.) Services were therefore irregular, and a messenger sometimes referred to as the Mass

man notified the residents of the parish when services were to be held. Sometimes the priest would stay overnight in the room behind the altar, at others he would stay with nearby residents.

The church stood in a setting of great natural beauty, at the top of a long slope. On one side Mill Creek flowed, fresh from its parent lake a short distance away. On the opposite side was Walsh's Lake, from which flowed an outlet stream that joined Mill Creek at the foot of the hill.

At a time when Chelsea was not yet founded, this small area had a sawmill on the creek, a school at the foot of the hill, with a nearby blacksmith shop, and a short distance away was a store of sorts. Tradition says that the boards for the church were sawed at the mill. A water gate at the lake was used to provide a head of water for the undershot wheel, and later a ditch was dug from Walsh's Lake to provide additional water. Near the bend of the road stood the home of Thomas Walsh.

Only the cemetery remains of this small community. A wide place in the creek and a few stones show where the mill stood. A few foundation stones mark the site of the store and of the Walsh home, and the school long since was torn down and another built which still stands not far away, now used as a dwelling.

Before the erection of the church, Catholics buried their dead on the farm of Daniel McLaughlin about two miles away, and some, perhaps all, of the burials were removed to the cemetery, for there are stones predating the building of the church. Here lie the early settlers under stones with quaint and sometimes pathetic epitaphs: "In your charity pray for the repose of," runs one of them. In a corner of the burying ground a forty-foot square was set off as a potters' field. While a good many graves are unmarked, some have imposing monuments in the old style, and stories of the old-timers still go round among the remaining people who can remember.

In 1869 a young priest who was born on a farm a short distance away said his first Mass in the church. His name was James Savage. He later rose to be Monsignor Savage of the Most Holy Trinity Church in Detroit, often referred to as the Corktown Church. At his fiftieth anniversary in 1919 Monsignor Savage used the same missal he had used in his first Mass. When he died in 1927 he

was buried before the spot where the altar had stood when he said the first Mass, and a tall granite cross marks his grave, in a plot set off by towering pine trees planted by William Cassidy, son of one of the earliest settlers in the area.

Monsignor Savage was a man of varied interests. He left to Notre Dame University a collection of three thousand Indian artifacts, and to St. Mary's Academy in Monroe a coin collection of note. His name was given to the Savage school that replaced the old one at the foot of the hill. Another local boy who became a priest was Bernard Reilly, for whom Reilly Lake was named.

Among old families in the two townships were the Savages, Cassidys, Burnses (Byrnses), McIntees, Walshes, O'Neils, Gormans, McKones, Linganes, Mullens, Duffys, Walls, Ryans, Howes, Kennedys, Flemings, McCans, Geraghtys, and O'Connors.

Three Cassidy brothers came to the area from their native Ireland and took up six hundred acres of land along Waterloo Road, part of which is now the Cassidy Lake Technical School, a correctional institution for first offenders. Other parts are included in the acreage of the Waterloo Recreational Area.

Father Cullen of Ann Arbor is said to have said the first Mass, and the last priest was Father William Considine. Other priests who served were Fathers Van Genip, Moricey, Kelly, and Duihig. Bishop Le Fevre presided at the first confirmation. The first child baptized was Rose Moran, later Rose O'Connor.

Access to the church was gained by a drive on the north side of the tract. A row of hitching posts was set for the accommodation of those who came with horses and oxen, and one of the posts still stands. People came from long distances for those days, many walking. Tradition says that some walked from as far as Grass Lake.

In 1869 a new St. Mary's was founded in Chelsea, a few miles away, and with regular services assured there, the Sylvan church began to decline, until at last it stood empty, a refuge for occasional hunters who would build a fire in the big box stove. Old families continued to bury their dead in the cemetery, but the place grew shabbier and more forlorn. A group of descendants of early members raised funds to keep the cemetery in order, and around 1915 the ground was named Mt. Calvary and an ornamental arch, bought

from Sears Roebuck and Company, was raised at the gate. This rusted out in time and has long since been removed.

A few years ago when the ground was almost obscured by tall grass and wild vegetation, Mrs. Nell Roethlisberger, a niece of Monsignor Savage, raised \$400, a large number of people contributing, and the ground was cleared and a neat wire fence placed around it. It is now kept in fine condition and has numerous visitors. School children from the nearby Mill Lake Camp visit it regularly to learn pioneer history under the guidance of Don Goodson, counsellor.

The state conservation department cooperated in restoring the driveway and it is possible to drive to the top of the hill, where entrance is gained by a wide gate. Monsignor Savage's grave lies near the entrance, and others range along the brow and slope of the hill. Efforts have been made to keep broken stones together and to clean older ones. One often visited is that of Owen McIntee, who was born in Ireland May 4, 1777, and died December 30, 1878. It bears this verse:

One hundred summers in their noiseless flow,
One hundred winters with their driving snow,
Now warped his form and furrowed deep his face,
And made sad entries in Life's lonesome race,
But bore fair virtues to his fame and Faith,
And wrote this record on the gates of Death.

One windy morning in April, 1903, smoke was seen pouring from the church and in a short time the building was reduced to ashes. The pews, which had been lent to an organization at a neighboring lake for some celebration, escaped the flames but never were returned. Only a few relics of this early church now exist.

There are, however, numerous descendants of families who attended the church still in the county, many of whom can remember the church and who revisit it on special holidays or to care for family graves. It is still a retired, quiet, beautiful spot.

Michigan News

THE 85TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Michigan was held at Kalamazoo on September 25 and 26, 1959, with an attendance of about 125 persons.

Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt, head of the social science department of Flint Junior College, was elected president of the society for the coming year, succeeding Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde of Ann Arbor. Mr. Marquis E. Shattuck, former superintendent of schools in Detroit, was elected vice-president.

Under the direction of Mr. Alexis A. Praus, chairman, the local arrangements committee consisted of Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, Dr. James O. Knauss, and Dr. Ivor D. Spencer. An excellent program was arranged by the program committee: Dr. F. Clever Bald, chairman, Dr. Howard Peckham, Mr. Praus, and Dr. Lewis Beeson.

During the registration from nine until ten A.M., at Hotel Harris, an informal coffee hour was held to enable old and new friends to meet one another before the sessions began.

Dr. James O. Knauss of Western Michigan University, president of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society, presided over the morning session, beginning with a paper on "Caroline Bartlett Crane" by Professor Charles R. Starring of Western. Mrs. Ruth B. Bordin, a member of the staff of the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, presented a paper on "A Michigan Lumber Family." The final portion of the morning program was given by Mr. David L. Lewis of General Motors Corporation, formerly associated with the Ford Motor Company, on "Henry Ford, Barnum of Business." All three papers were of excellent quality and well received.

Luncheon was served to the conference group at the Student Center of Western Michigan University. The invocation was given by the Rev. George E. Crandall, Congregational pastor to the students at this university. Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, director of the Michigan Historical Collections and president of the Historical Society of Michigan, presided at the program following the

luncheon, introducing the vice-president of the university, Dr. Russell H. Seibert, who welcomed the conferees to the campus.

In his presidential report, Dr. Vander Velde distinguished between the state society and the state historical commission, a matter of some confusion to the public. The society, he pointed out, is a private organization operated from private funds with no assistance from tax monies, while the commission, consisting of six appointed members, operates from a legislative appropriation and conducts an administrative, museum, and archival program. Both organizations work closely together, in fact, out of one office with a common executive officer, Dr. Lewis Beeson. The society is directed by a board of trustees. Membership in the state society is open to anyone interested in the history of our state.

The annual business meeting began with the reading of the minutes of the 1958 annual meeting by Dr. Beeson. The minutes were accepted with one revision. Mr. Ferris Lewis as chairman of the nominating committee, which consisted of members Roger Van Bolt, George Osborn, Frederick Williams, and Alexis Praus, reported the following nominations to fill the five vacancies of the regularly retiring trustees: Mr. Roscoe O. Bonisteel of Ann Arbor, Mrs. Maxine W. Clarey of Bay City, Mr. Floyd Dain of Royal Oak, Mr. Donald Finlayson of Sault Ste Marie, Mr. Earl De La Vergne of Livonia, Dr. Frank Elliott of East Lansing, Mr. Leonard Johnson of Dearborn, Dr. Eugene Petersen of Mackinac Island, Mrs. Adele Rahn of Gibraltar, and Mr. Willard C. Wichers of Holland. No nominations were offered from the floor. The tellers, Mrs. Gertrude Johnston, Dr. Louis W. Doll, and Alan W. Brown, collected the ballots and retired to count them.

Dr. Madison Kuhn, reporting for the audit committee in the absence of Mr. Bonisteel, the chairman, said that the recent audit of the society's books was done by a professional auditing firm which found a sound financial condition with a membership equity of over \$11,000.

Reporting for the membership committee, Mr. Henry D. Brown, chairman, said that the society now has a total membership of 1,865 persons, consisting of 384 active members, 874 joint active, 19 organizational, 250 institutional, 2 contributing, 25 life, and 309 student members, an increase of 320 over last year's figures.

Mrs. Carroll Paul, reporting for the architecture committee in the absence of Professor Emil Lorch, chairman, read an excellent report recommending that the society support the various efforts to retain the historical character of Market Street on Mackinac Island. The resolutions committee later adopted a resolution embracing such support.

Reports were given by the school activities council, the historical development committee, the Michigan Historical Commission, and a staff member reported on the current aspects of historical development in the Mackinac Straits area.

Concluding the business session, the tellers reported that the following persons had been elected to the board of trustees to serve for three years: Mr. Bonisteel, Dr. Elliott, Mr. Johnson, Dr. Petersen, and Mr. Wichers.

The group again assembled for another session, this time at the beautiful, new Kalamazoo Public Museum, to hear a paper by Dr. Willis F. Dunbar of Western Michigan University on "Some Kalamazoo Centennials." Mr. Praus, director of the museum, spoke briefly and then invited the members to roam about the museum where staff members were available to answer questions and show them about. A lovely tea was presented by the Friends of the Kalamazoo Public Library and Museum. At 5:30 the new board of trustees met for a brief session to elect new officers and conduct other necessary business.

At 7 P. M. dinner was served at Hotel Harris with an invocation by the Rev. Charles Bennison of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Kalamazoo. The Varsity Choir of Western Michigan University under the direction of Dr. Elwyn Carter, presented a group of songs. President Vander Velde, presiding over the evening session, introduced Mayor Glenn S. Allen, Jr., of Kalamazoo who welcomed the group with a most interesting talk. The president then introduced Dr. Howard H. Peckham of the University of Michigan, a member of the conference program committee, who presented the main speaker of the evening, the Burton memorial lecturer, Professor R. Carlyle Buley of the history department of Indiana University, a Pulitzer prize winner, who spoke on "Pioneer Medicine in the Middle West." Both informative and amusing, Professor Buley described a great variety of superstitious and medicinal cures used by the pioneers in

the Midwest, based on the scholarly research he has done for many years on this subject.

At the opening of the second day of the conference at 10 A. M. in the Evans Room of Wells Hall, Kalamazoo College, Dr. Louis W. Doll, a trustee of the state society and president of the Bay County Historical Society, presided over the morning session where three papers were read: "The Alphadelphia Society," by Robert Distin of the Shakespeare Company, Kalamazoo; "Hillsdale College, an Educational Trail Blazer," by Mrs. Vivian Lyon Moore of Hillsdale College; and "Michigan Women in the Sanitary Commission," by Robert Spiro of the Detroit Public Schools. Again, the high quality of the papers was most pleasing to the listeners.

Luncheon was served in the same building to eighty persons. The invocation was given by the Rev. Lloyd Averill, Dean of the Chapel of Kalamazoo College. Dr. Weimer K. Hicks, president of Kalamazoo College, gave a pleasant welcome. Dr. Madison Kuhn of Michigan State University presided and introduced Dr. Philip P. Mason of Wayne State University, who presented a film strip, "Michigan in the Civil War."

Dr. Gordon A. Sabine of Michigan State University, chairman of the committee on awards, announced that awards had been made to: *The Michigan Courthouse Review*, *The Ingham County News*, the *Cassopolis Vigilant*.

As the 1959 annual meeting closed, there was a warm friendly interchange of conversation between friends and acquaintances and the anticipation of meeting again next year at the 1960 meeting.

The tremendous value of the annual meetings was expressed again and again during the two days with the remark, "We always learn something new about Michigan history and that's good, but the most fun is to meet such wonderful people!"

THE TENTH ANNUAL UPPER PENINSULA Historical Conference was held August 14 and 15, 1959, at Iron Mountain under the sponsorship of the Dickinson County Historical Society. Mrs. Philip B. Thomas, president of the local society, served as general chairman with Charles Follo, trustee from Escanaba, acting as program chairman. The meeting, held in the Dickinson Hotel, was attended by

seventy-two members and guests despite the rainy weather both days.

After the registration and coffee hour from ten until eleven o'clock on the first day, the film strip, "Michigan in the Civil War," was shown. Presiding at the luncheon, Mr. Urgel F. Asselin introduced Mrs. August Paveglia who spoke on "John Buell, Founder of Quinnesec"; and Clark McGregor who gave a paper, "Company E, Organized in Menominee for the Spanish-American War."

During the general session in the afternoon, Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, president of the state society, called upon the local historical societies of the Upper Peninsula for reports of their past year's activities. Nine societies presented oral or written reports.

The society received an invitation from the Delta County Historical Society through its president, Arvid Mustonen, to hold next year's Upper Peninsula Historical Conference in Escanaba. Dr. Vander Velde stated that he would present this invitation to the board of trustees.

Mr. Lawrence D. Tucker, editor of the *Iron Mountain News* and toastmaster for the Friday evening dinner, introduced the main speaker for the conference, Mr. Jean Worth, editor of the *Escanaba Daily Press*, who spoke on the subject, "Jess Spalding, Millionaire." This was an excellent talk full of warmth, humor, and careful historical reconstruction of the life of a dynamic and eccentric lumberman.

Despite a heavy rainstorm on Saturday morning, a successful tour of the Iron Mountain area was conducted by Dr. Joseph L. Clement, a member of the Dickinson County Historical Society. Points of interest during the tour were the Cornish mine pump, the Italian Roman Catholic church, an Indian portage, the world-famous ski jump and new chalet, and the newly-opened Bambi park, a tourist attraction consisting of delightful "baby animals."

With Mrs. Mary Ordidge as toastmistress for the Saturday luncheon program, two speakers were introduced: Dean Turner, talking on "The Architecture of early Vulcan Homes," and Sumner Robbins, with a talk on "The Diary of George Sibert, Pioneer of Iron Mountain." Both speakers were well informed on these local topics and both were well received by the members.

Following the luncheon session, the conference was concluded by a most interesting tour of the Iron Mountain Iron Mine.

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MICHIGAN MUSEUMS CONFERENCE was held June 25, 26, 27 in Muskegon, under the general direction of Mrs. Elizabeth K. Wathen, director of the Muskegon County Museum. With the members of the Muskegon County Historical Society acting as hosts, a very successful conference was held, attended by almost sixty persons.

Miss Margot Pearsall, program chairman, presented a varied and stimulating program beginning with a beach picnic at Pioneer Park and an informal evening program which included the showing of a film on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Following the official registration on Friday morning, June 26, and a coffee hour at the county museum, a workshop was held on the theme of taking the museum program out of the building, i.e., to schools, clubs, and exhibit areas in public buildings.

After a luncheon at the Muskegon Y.W.C.A., officers of the local museum, historical society, and city were introduced to welcome the group. Captain Joseph E. Johnston, curator emeritus, marine history, Detroit Historical Museum, spoke from his many years of experience in maritime museum work on the subject, "A Museum of Great Lakes History," which is now in the planning stage at Detroit.

Adjourning to the museum, the group reassembled for an afternoon program which reviewed recent major additions and alterations in several Michigan museums: The Grand Rapids Public Museum, now in a new building; The Commandant's Headquarters, a recent restoration by the Dearborn Historical Commission; The Muskegon County Museum, presently housed in an old school building which will be torn down soon for a new highway. The directors of the three museums spoke in detail of their problems of financing, and housing; of arranging, lighting, and staffing their exhibits; and other technicalities.

Dinner was served at the Occidental Hotel followed by an address by Dr. Eugene T. Petersen, director of Fort Mackinac Historical Project, Mackinac Island, who spoke on, "The Museum challenge at Mackinac Island." Most impressive color slides were shown by Dr. Petersen to illustrate the progress of the exhibits at the fort from last year to this.

A coffee hour at the beautiful Hackley Art Gallery began the

Saturday morning session when the conferees viewed the art exhibits. A workshop session was held in the auditorium of the gallery with speakers demonstrating various unique, simple, and inexpensive museum techniques.

After a luncheon at Lakos restaurant, Dr. F. Clever Bald, assistant director of the Michigan Historical Collections, addressed the group in an informative and amusing review of the Civil War collections in the Ann Arbor depository.

A guided tour of Muskegon's scenic and historic points of interest and a meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan's board of trustees concluded the conference.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Michigan have grown in the past several years from impetus arising from the activities of Roscoe O. Bonisteel, trustee from 1955 to 1958 and reelected for the term 1959-62, and George Osborn, trustee from 1954 to 1957. The result was noted earlier in the December, 1957 issue of *Michigan History*.

During the past year the society has gained four new life members: Mr. Leonard N. Simons of Detroit, Mr. Max Heavenrich of Saginaw, and Mr. and Mrs. Miles Phillimore of Mackinac Island, all persons who have long been deeply interested in Michigan history.

Leonard N. Simons was born in Youngstown, Ohio, but has been a resident of Detroit since 1916, where he developed his first interests in the history of Detroit and Michigan, resulting in a life-long hobby with an accumulated collection of over two thousand books, beautifully rebound in a unique old-world style design. On his fiftieth birthday, Mr. Simons gave the entire collection to the library of Wayne State University where it is housed in a special room.

Mr. Simons for thirty years has been associated with the advertising firm of Simons-Michelson Company, Detroit, and was selected in 1957 as one of the eleven outstanding citizens of Michigan by the *Michigan Chronicle*, an honor fully understood when one views his tremendous accomplishments in the broad field of civic and charitable causes.

Since its inception in 1945, Mr. Simons has been vice-president of the Detroit Historical Commission and is a member of the board of trustees of the Detroit Historical Society. He established the Wayne State University Press and was its first president. Among his numerous activities we also find the following: member of the board of the American Cancer Society Southeast Michigan Division, cancer crusade chairman of 1952, member of the Wayne County Chapter board of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, board member of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, chairman of the Michigan Brotherhood in 1952, 1957 chairman for the United Negro College Fund, board member of Marygrove College near Detroit, Sinai Hospital, Northend Clinic, Jewish Home for the Aged, Jewish Publication Society of America, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, American Jewish Committee, Michigan B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation; vice president of the Detroit Grand Opera Association, board member of the United Foundation and the United Community Services of Detroit.

Business-wise, Mr. Simons has been or is on the boards of the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, City Bank of Detroit; secretary of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, Detroit chapter.

Among the many honors he has received, we cite the 1951 testimonial resolution for public service from the City of Detroit, the 1954 Certificate of Appreciation from the Downtown Lions Club, Detroit, 1956 Americanism award from the American Legion; the gold medal from the U. S. Treasury Department for World War II services as advertising director and executive committee member of the Michigan War Finance Committee and another for World War II services from the U. S. Army Sixth Service Command; citations from the navy, marine corp, air force, coast guard, war shipping administration, nurses corps and the American Red Cross.

Mr. Simons made possible the printing of the book, *The Temple Beth El Story*, a history of the first hundred years of this temple's existence, together with a history of the Jewish people in Michigan and in America. This book, written by Irving I. Katz, was published by the Wayne State University Press and won national recognition.

Mr. Simons is married and has two daughters and one grandson. The second life member of the past year, Mr. Max Heavenrich,

is a third generation manager of the firm, Heavenrich's of Saginaw, founded in 1878 by Mr. Heavenrich's grandfather. Mr. Heavenrich's father succeeded to the presidency of the firm in 1920. Upon his death in 1953, Mr. Heavenrich became president.

Born in Saginaw, Max Heavenrich attended the public schools there, went on to Dartmouth College to receive his A.B. degree, then to the University of Michigan where he gained his master's degree in public administration.

Between 1935 and 1946, he was associated with several privately supported governmental research groups in Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Ohio. During part of World War II, he was an administrative management specialist with the bureau of the budget in Washington, D.C. He returned to the family business in Saginaw in 1946.

Mr. Heavenrich is a director of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, the advisory committee on Reorganization of State Government, a member at large of the National Council of Boy Scouts of America, and vice-president of the Michigan Retail Clothiers and Furnishers Association. He is a past president of the Saginaw Rotary Club, the Valley Trails Council, Boy Scouts of America, a holder of the Boy Scout Silver Beaver Award, member of the Saginaw Credit Bureau board of directors, and has served many local community activity groups.

An interest Mr. Heavenrich shared with his late father continues as he serves as a member of the United Scholarship Advisory Committee, which supervises the distribution and selection of student recipients of certain scholarship funds.

Mr. Heavenrich was honored by his community when he received the Boutell Award for outstanding community service in Saginaw.

He is a member of the Saginaw Club, the Saginaw Valley Torch Club, Rotary Club, Elks, Germania, and a number of national associations.

In an area of great local history, Mr. Heavenrich's interest in Michigan history comes naturally. The Heavenrich firm was well known by the lumberjacks of the woods. The firm is, indeed, one of the oldest present contacts with past generations of the Saginaw Valley. It is only natural to find that Mr. Heavenrich has collected

memorabilia of the lumbering days. Usually in the middle of October, the collection is displayed in an effort to encourage local historians to "do something" about Saginaw's past.

The Historical Society of Michigan is honored and pleased to enroll both Mr. Simons and Mr. Heavenrich as life members, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Miles Philimore of whom no biography is available at this printing.

One hundredth birthdays were observed not only by people in 1959 but also by newspapers, a church, a school, hotel, by towns and a county. The *Saginaw News*, which has served the city of Saginaw and the Thumb area for one hundred years, in its centennial edition indicates the changing times. In 1896 coal was mined in that area and by 1915 the Saginaw Valley produced 95 per cent of the coal mined in Michigan. About 1923 coal mining began to decline and in 1952 the last mine owned by the Swan Creek Mining Company and located about five miles northeast of St. Charles, closed.

The *Sturgis Daily Journal* published a centennial edition of over a hundred pages on October 3. Mark P. Haines, editor and publisher of the *Journal* for the past 44 years traced the history of the paper which began as a four-page weekly hand-printed publication by the village school teacher in 1859.

The *Hastings Banner* on May 3 observed its one hundredth birthday with a centennial edition giving the history and growth of Hastings and Barry County. Its pages were filled with information and pictures of pioneer days and settlers.

Huron County was one hundred years old January 25, 1959. The *Harbor Beach Times* published a centennial history of Huron County compiled by Chet Hey of Bad Axe and Norman Eckstein of Pigeon.

Christ Episcopal Church of Owosso observed its one hundredth birthday in September with special programs and the publication of an illustrated 72 page booklet giving the history of the church. Two notables of Michigan history: Oliver Curwood and Thomas E. Dewey, appear on its pages. Reverend William D. Davis has been rector of the church since February 1, 1932.

The Bancroft Hotel of Saginaw had its first grand opening on September 7, 1859. It was built by Jesse Hoyt at a cost of \$50,000, with another \$15,000 for furnishings. A hundred years later it recalls that at the grand opening banquet there were thirteen kinds of roasts served: including bear, turkey, venison, suckling pig, chicken, and wild duck.

In addition to Paw Paw, Pewamo, and Alpena which celebrated their one hundredth birthday during 1959, the capital city of the state, Lansing, observed the one hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a city with a multitude of events which culminated in a giant centennial pageant. An 80 page Souvenir Historical Program of Lansing was compiled by Birt Darling, historian, with the *Lansing State Journal*.

Battle Creek observed the one hundredth anniversary as an incorporated city with a variety of programs and events. One unique feature was the continuation of the "world's longest breakfast table" established in 1956 as a part of the observance of the 50th anniversary of the Kellogg Company. A 94 page booklet compiled by Ross H. Collier, who has been a member of the Battle Creek *Enquirer and News* since 1942, tells the history of Battle Creek in words and pictures. Mrs. Stanley T. Lowe, a trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan, served on the seven-member general centennial committee as historical consultant.

Chelsea, Fenton, and Grand Haven celebrated 125th birthdays.

The Moon School in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, celebrated its centennial with the observance that it had served as a community center, a singing school, a place for ice cream and maple sugar festivals, for the holding of court, and that Evelyn Lenovitz, better known as "Evelyn and her Magic Violin", wife of Phil Spitalny, was once a pupil in the Moon School.

Book Reviews and Notes

From Cleveland by Ship to California, 1849-1850. By Robert Samuel Fletcher. (Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1959. x, 145 p. Illustrations and Index. \$3.00.)

Many ships have been launched in the Black River at Lorain on the south coast of Lake Erie, but none had a more romantic destiny than the brig *Eureka*. The story of a nine-month voyage from Cleveland to the California gold rush in 1849 via the Lakes and the St. Lawrence River to the sea, then around Cape Horn to San Francisco inspired Professor Robert S. Fletcher, head of the history department of Oberlin University, to compile all of the available data in one volume. His expanded account also includes much material from a journal by one of the travelers, Eleazer Abbe, which was made available to the author during the lifetime of its recently deceased owner, Miss Nora Abbe of Elyria.

The account of the cruise of the *Eureka*, the first American ship to sail this route, begins with a description of life in northern Ohio before the gold rush. The brig was commanded by William Monroe, a "thorough seaman". Captain L. D. Burnell of Black River, (now Lorain) acting as supercargo, was also one of the builders. The *Eureka* departed on September 24, 1849, and anchored in San Francisco Bay on June 17, 1850. The voyage is described in detail by Dr. Fletcher, including the fortunes of the fifty-nine passengers. But those readers who enjoy stories of the sea will be disappointed at the total absence of any reference to the crew or to any detailed description of the working of the ship. The author portrays very capably the thinking and mannerisms of that quaint era, but he also reveals a total lack of knowledge of the sea and ships. This may be accepted with some tolerance since most of the pertinent information was gleaned from newspaper accounts which would be equally deficient in any lore of the sea.

Most of the passengers fared indifferently well. One conspicuous exception was John P. Jones, son of a Cleveland tombstone processor. He made a fortune in silver mining, and served as senator from Nevada from 1875 to 1905. Another voyager of note was Cleveland's W. Halsey Doan, who returned to his home town and amassed a fortune in the oil business, his company being one of several that were acquired at an early date by John D. Rockefeller.

Among the interesting illustrations is an early photograph of the Black River near its mouth at Lake Erie. There is also an excellent view of early sailing vessels in the Cleveland harbor up the Cuyahoga River.

The author's delightful sense of humor contributes a great deal to the quality of this small scholarly volume. He has apparently conducted a

thorough research of his subject and included all of the important and available information in a very commendable manner.

All things considered, this is an interesting, carefully documented addition to Great Lakes literature.

Cleveland, Ohio

HERBERT W. DOSEY

The Thirty-second State: A Pictorial History of Minnesota. By Bertha L. Heilbron. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1958. xii, 306 p. Illustrations. \$8.95.)

In 1958 Minnesota celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its statehood. It was the occasion for numerous celebrations and a series of publications. Miss Heilbron's book, the first comprehensive pictorial history of Minnesota, will undoubtedly be the most lasting contribution of the centennial year. Moreover, it is one of the best pictorial histories to appear in the last decade, and will serve as a model for similar studies of other states.

The Thirty-Second State is not, however, strictly a pictorial history. The extensive text, which describes Minnesota's three centuries of colorful history, is, in itself, a distinct contribution to the literature of Minnesota. The carefully-selected photographs and paintings, more than 470 in number, admirably complement the text and present a well-balanced study of Minnesota's development.

The volume is divided into two parts: "From Unexplored Wilderness to Frontier Territory, 1654-1858", and "A Century of Statehood, 1858-1958." In the former section which is treated chronologically, the author has included such chapters as "The Fleur-de-lis on Western Waters", "Traders' Frontier", "Sioux and Chippewa", "Minnesota Becomes a Territory", "Frontier Economy", and "Homeseekers and Speculators". Under the part on statehood which is arranged topically, are such titles as "The New State and the Civil War", "The Sioux War", "Farmers in a Changing Economy", "Minnesotans at Play", "Main Street in Transition", and "Minnesota in Four Wars". Although some subjects were not covered in the volume because of inadequate illustrations, it is nonetheless comprehensive in scope.

One of the outstanding features of the volume is the quality and pertinence of the illustrations. Miss Heilbron has spent years of research in locating significant paintings, daguerreotypes, photographs, and maps. Her credits indicate that she has examined the important photograph collections in the United States and Canada. From my own personal experience in collecting illustrations for a similar study of Michigan, I know of the painstaking work involved in locating suitable material. One

need only examine her book to see how successful she has been in her quest.

There are other points which should be mentioned. The book is artistically designed; it contains a good index; the captions are well written, and the author has added a section on picture sources. This volume is a major contribution to Minnesota history.

Wayne State University

Philip P. Mason

The Sanilac Petroglyphs. By Darrel J. Richards and Mark Papworth. (Bloomfield Hills, Cranbrook Institute of Science Bulletin No. 36. 48 p. 1958. Illustrations, maps. \$1.55.)

The Sanilac Petroglyphs, an illustrated story of the Sanilac Stone, and Michigan's unique Indian picture rocks, is a well illustrated publication by the Cranbrook Institute of Science. One section, entitled "The Petroglyphs," is by Darrel J. Richards; the second section, "An Archeological Survey of the Petroglyph Site," is by Mark Papworth. The "Introduction" by Robert T. Hatt gives the historical background of the area. A listing of the printed references to the Sanilac Stone provides for further study and information.

Illustrations and maps add greatly to the enjoyment and understanding of the subject.

Contributors

Dr. Rolland H. Maybee joined the staff of Central Michigan University in 1927 and since 1946 has been professor of history and head of the department of social sciences. Following two years of study at Western Michigan University, he continued at Columbia University where he received the A.B. degree, and subsequently the master's and Ph.D. degrees. He has served three terms on the board of trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan and was president of the board in 1949.

A native of New Jersey, Ellis R. Martin has lived in Michigan over forty years and has two degrees from the University of Michigan. He is a member of the Washtenaw County Historical Society and the Historical Society of Michigan.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, MARCH 3, 1933, AND
JULY 2, 1946.

Of Michigan History Magazine published quarterly at Lansing,
Michigan, for December, 1959. State of Michigan, County of
Ingham, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county afore-
said, personally appeared Lewis Beeson, who having been duly
sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the
Michigan History magazine and that the following is, to the best of
his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, man-
agement, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in
the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as
amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946, embodied
in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse
of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and address of the publisher and editor are:
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2. That the owner is: the Michigan Historical Commission,
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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and the other
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LEWIS BEESON, *Editor*.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October, 1959.

GERTRUDE I. DOMKE, *Notary Public*,
My commission expires Aug. 1, 1961.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

